REPORT

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Indian



HELD AT

MADRAS.

On the 26th, 27th, 28th et d 29th December,

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ENGLAND'S PLEDGES TO INDIA.

ACT OF PARLIAMENT OF 1833.

That no native of the said territories (India) nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Government, (Act 3 and 4, Wm IV, c 85, s. 87)

Ber Majesty's Proclamation in 1858.

We hold ourselves bound to the artires of our Indian Territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other Subjects, and those obligations, by the Bleesing of Alanghty God no shall faithfully and conscientionsly fulbl

And it is our further will that so far as may be our Subjects of whatever Race or Liced, bo freely and unpartially admitted to Offices in our Service, the Daties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, daily to discharge

LORO NORTHBROOK ON INCIAN AFFAIRS

There is one simple test which we may apply to all Indian questions, let us never forget that it is our duty to govern India, not for our own profit and advantage, but for the benefit of the natives of Indus."

LORO LYTTON'S SPEECH AT THE OELHI ASSEMBLAGE ON ISL JANUARY, 1877

But you, the natives of India whatever your race and whatever your creed have a recognised claim to share largely with your English fellow subjects according to your expanity for the task in the administration of the country you inhabit. This claim is founded in the highest justice. It has been repeatedly affirmed by British and Indran stricemen and by the Legislation of the Imperial Path iment It is recognised by the Government of India as binding on its honour and consistent with all the aims of its policy."

LORO RIPON IN THE VICEREGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

' The document (Her Majesty a Proclamation) is not a treaty, it is not a diplomatic instrument it is a declaration of principles of Government which, if it is obligatory at all, is obligatory in respect to all to whom it is addressed. The doctrine, therefore, to which his Frizipines Steplen has given the sinction of his authority, I feel bound to repudiate to the atmost of my powers It seems to me to be inconsistent with the character of my Sovereign and with the honour of my country, and if it were once to be received and acted upon by the Government of England at would do more than anything clse could possibly do to strike at the root of our power and to destroy our just infinence Because that power and that infinence rests upon the conviction of our good faith more than upon any other foundation, age more than upon the valour of our soldiers and the reputation of our arms

LORO OUFFERINS SPEECH ON THE OCCASION OF HER MAJESTY'S JUBILEE IN 1887 one our raining at half I be if during my sojourn among them (the people of India) circumstances

permitted me to extend, and to place upon a wide and more logical footing the political status which was so wisely given, a generation ago by that great statesman Lord Halifax, to such Indian gentlemen as by their influence their acquirements, and the confidence they inspired in their fellow countrymen, were marked out as useful adjuncts to our Legislative Councils"

LORO LANSDOWNE IN THE VICEREGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, 9th JANUARY, 1891. • • • the Proclamation of 18.8, which the Government of India regards as in the highest

degree obligatory upon it " . .

REPORT

OF

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Indian

Hational Conguess

HELD AT

MADRAS,

On the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th December,

1894.

Madras:

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INTRODUCTION

A MID scenes of entbusiasm which only belong to a great and popular Cause, the Tenth Indian National Congress successfully accomplished the vearly task of placing before an increasingly attentive public the need for Reform and the need for redress of grievances in the Indian Empire—In four days of exemplar; application to the work in hand much sound common sence, much political sagacity, much eloquence of a high order was brought to bear upon the pressing problems of modern India—If the proceedings towards the close of the Session were somewhat subdued in the recent shadow of a public sorrow—the sudden death of the young Maharajah of Mysore—none the less did the work of clear enuncriation of popular rights go forward with unabated zerd to its appointed completion

The Tenth Congress

The Congress Hall was a large building capable of holding nearly a 000 persons and throughout the four days during which the deliberations lasted was it all times full to overflowing. It stood in a large compound of several across mextent plentifully supplied with fine tree. Innumerable tents and offices with their occupants hurrying to and fro, and the large house set apart for the President and some of the delegates, with the frequent arrival and departure of visitors some distinguished and some the reverse for all bad access to the Congress Head quarters—all these made up a scene of inten e animation and interest. If absence of friction and perfection of results are tests of efficient organization then the arrangements of the Reception Committee must have been as well might perfect as it is possible for human arrangements to be. Not only in this busy camp, but in the stressful moments of Committee meetings, everything worked with a regularity and a smoothness which is not often met with

A word must be said about the Volunteer Corps—one of the remarkable features of these Indan Congresses During the Congress week some 200 young men of good family thought it an honour, and by their helpfulness, tact and discretion made it an honour, to be in construct attendance upon the delegates to the National Parli ment. Never obtrusive, but always at hand, and always willing to take messages, to receive orders and to get things done, these young men under a genial captain and efficient heutenants contributed in no small measure to the amenities of that strenious political life. Mr. Webb was especially struck with their bearing and efficiency and many a hard pressed delegate had good reasons to be grateful for their unselfish and unitring services.

The First Day's Proceedings opened with the address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee. In a telling and eloquent address the Hon Mr P Rungrih Naidu welcomed the 1,200 delegates of the Tenth Indian Congress to Madras, remmiding them in the words of the late Rajah Sir T Madhava Row & c & t, that the Congress is the "soundest triumph in British Administration and a brown of glory to the British Nation". He pointed out that the Congress was steadily mercasing in power and influence and gradually penetrating all classes and sections.

Charmar of Recept on Com mittees Address Chairman of Reception Com mittee s Address of the people "The political horizon of the educated Indian citizen is no longer his village or district, not even the capital city of his province, but it is now the whole Indian Continent"

After referring to the Charter of Indian liberties, the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, and to attempts which have been made from time to time to explain away the obvious meaning of that historic document, Mr. Rungiah Nudu declared fairly and squarely that the Indian Birrenorizey were selfish: "I say that most deliberately" he added "and the history of the last 35 years is my justification for saying so." The two following paragraphs taken from his address illustrate well that strong and effective criticism of the defects of Anglo Indian rule coupled with a generous recognition of its advantages, which has always marked the interances of the Concress leaders.

· "We are at present more than we ever were, in need of the support of British public opinion because in proportion as our agritation acquires prestige and grows in influence, so does the opposition in this country grow strong this opposition you have seen a remarkable proof in the latest official contribution to the literature on the Simultaneous Examinations Question The Parliamentary Blue Book on that question marks, I fear, a further straining of the relations between educated Indians and the officials, from which latter nothing but abuse. misrepresentation and determined opposition are, it would seem, hereafter to be expected even in our most moderate attempts at self improvement. They would seem to have persuaded themselves into the belief that to have established English Schools and Colleges is the greatest mistake of British rule in India, and that masmuch as their abolition is out of the question, the next best thing from their point of view, is to cry down the men educated in these institutions, call them names, and characterise them as a class of disloyal men, devoid of influence with their own countrymen, and incapable of discharging any responsible public Our Angle Indian friends speak as if nothing good can come out of the people for whose education the State expends as much as a crore of rupees every year. They seem to be almost ashamed of their own literature, of the teachers and professors of their own nationality, and enamoured of unorance and supersti tron as the best mental state of the Indian people I have no doubt that this Blue Book, so disappointing and so retrograde and so unworthy of the Englishman's reputation for fair dealing, will be subjected to severe criticism in the course of our proceedings And I merely refer to it here to show what amount and what kind of opposition we should be prepared for in this country before our objects are attained."

"To abuse the opponent is a favourite form of argument with a certain description of people, and failing to meet us with fair reasoning or on the ground of justice or political wisdom, the opponents of the Congress, that is, of educated Indrais, call us disloyed and attribute to us revolutionary designs. Gentlemen, with mid men and with people who tilk wildly under the exciting sense of losing interests, we have no concern. If there he may reasonable persons amongst our opponents, I should like to take them into my confidence and rely them why they

think we are disloyal. If a rule which has established beace, order and security in the country, which administers justice as importally as human tribunals can do, which constantly stimulates material prosperity, which has conferred on the people the mestimable blessing of Education, hherty of conscience and freedom of discus sion, and of waich, indeed, the possibilities for fature good are even greater than what has actually been done in the past-if such a rule cannot excite the loval attachment of the people, I am at a loss to know what kind of rule may be expected to excite their loyalty Gentlemen, the fact is, the persons that charge us with disloyalty are the victims of their own goilty conscience, of some evil thought concealed in their minds, and it is only such persons that see disloyalty everywhere, and, like Macbeth, perceive a dagger in the air. Nor is it anything but the most ludicrous absurdity to see disloyalty in political agitation conducted on strictly constitutional lines and in a spirit of confidence in the rulers What is the good of the education and freedom that have been vouchsafed to us if we do not make use of them for our own improvement. We have no des re but to live on terms of the utmost amity and regard with our Anglo Indian fellow subjects

We feel we want their guidance and their sympathy which, whenever shown, we

have most sincerely and unstintingly recipiocated '

Speaking of the enthusiasm which this Congress has evoked in Southern India Mr Rungiah Naidu said 'There can be no doubt that, although after the first few years the Congress as a great patriotic enterprise lost the attractions of novelty, it has lost no portion of its influence on the intelligent classes of the community as the only institution calling into play what resources of public spirit exist in the country and imparting weight and dignity to such non official Indian opinion as gives itself expression from time to time. Nothing proves this fact better than the unprecedented outburst of enthusiasm throughout Southern India when the preparations for this Congress were set on foot in the middle of the year" * * * The most remarkable feature in the work of our organization this time was the system of raising the necessary funds by appealing for help to every house and every place of business in the locality, a system which, first started in the city of Madras, was immediately adopted in every centre of Congress activity in all the districts of the province The Reception Committee has collected till now nearly 40,000 rupees, of which nearly if not more than half was collected in exceedingly small amounts, in the shape of single rupees of unnes and pies "

In the concluding paragraphs of this address a reference to the Maho medan community exhibits again that firm but temperate and conclustory attitude which as we have said before characterizes the Congress on the questions of the day. "We do not conceal from ourselves the fact that an important section of our Mahomedan fellow countrymen have stood aloof from our movement under the mistaken impression that it is disliked by the powers that be, and that not to join such a movement, to denounce it, and to actually oppose it, is the surest presport to Government's favour and official advancement. But the time is gone, altogether gone, when subserviency to official power can play the role of real merit and win admission to the public service, and our deluded fellow country men are just

Chairman of Reception Com mittee's Address Chairman of Reception Com mittee's Address now discovering that the game is after all not paying, and that in these days no community gets a hearing for its representations, especially when the governing power is vested in the hands of foreigners, unless those representations are backed up by a powerful and organized agitation. Educational Conferences are accordingly being organized, political societies are being established, and whispers of discontent are being heard—all showing that soon our Mahomedan follow countrymen, though they may not all join the Congress, will press their claims by public agitation on lines parallel to our own. They are quite welcome to this method and we shall most conduitly wish them success. They cannot have claims different from our own or claims with which we of the Indian National Congress do not fully and warmly sympthize.

Presidents Address The formal election of the President was the next business and being quickly over Mr. Alfred Webb, M.P., for West Waterford began his unaugural address as President of the Touth Indian National Congress. The distinguishing characteristic of a very thoughtful and sympathetic address was a moderation and a sweet reasonableness which has proved extremely disconcerting not to say urritating to that hostile chorus of unofficial officialdom—the Anglo Indian Press. In vain would the most uncompromising opponent canack Mr. Webb's opening address for any vestige of sentiments which overstepped the bounds of sober and legitimate criticism. The address should be read in its entirety, but the following notworthy paragraphs may be quoted here.

"The ends you have in view are similar to those of politicians in other quarters of the globe. The difficulties before you are, however, greater. Else where politicians have to deal principally with homogeneous populations, to whom, at least in theory, equal political rights may at once be accorded, you have largely to work for those who have yet to pass through a long process of assimilation and elevation. All the greater necessity that in assemblages such as this you should be turned to doctrines of despare. The question is not concerning the difficulties, but whether or not the difficulties are to be faced, and if to be faced, the sooner the better. And it is alone by and through organizations such as yours that they can be faced.

"It is at the same time necessary to bear in mind that you stand at the most critical period of a people's history. Your populations, heretofore supine, are awakening to consciousness and new hopes, whilst they may not fully as yet have acquired hobits of self iestraint and sentiments of responsibility. Mistakes are certain to be made, and are sure to be attributed by opponents, not to their true source—former conditions, but to the awakening, the emobling process itself. We must be prepared to meet unsrepresentations and calumary. We must take heed that in our leading we give no just cause for accusation."

"Nothing in what I have said or intend to say must however be taken to imply a want of appreciation of the character and services of numbers of my felloucitizens, whose lives have been and are being given to the administration and government of India. They were doubtless at first attracted to the service solely

President s Address

as a career in life But residence here, sympathy with your people, and a sense of duty, rapidly impel to higher motives. They become sincerely auxious for your welfare and devoted to what they believe your highest good. Never has more conscience been brought to the government of a conquered country We here are not set against them, unless, indeed, they are determined to set themselves against us The services of men of their training, temper, and turn of mind may, perhaps for generations to come, be necessary They are to be homograd and respected in their sphere. But they must not impede or prevent the gradual application to the government of this country of principles other than those had down by statesmen of the first rank fully half a century ugo I might perhaps have been more affected than I have been by the attitude and language of many of them regarding your country and your people were it not that it is such as I have been accustomed to hear from the same class in Ireland leginding my country and my people. If the anticipations of the former regarding your capacities and your future are as fully belied as have been the anticipations of the latter regarding our capacities and our future, you may rest satisfied Closely allied, in blood and religion, as this class in Ireland has been to us, their efforts to govern independently of Irish opinion have resulted in failure How much less likely is it that they can succeed here without availing themselves of your assistance more largely than heretofore'

"While most anxious not to implicate your cause with Irish politics, or the relations between Great Britain and Iteland, I may occasionally illustrate your affairs by reference to my own country Your interests are in fact closely involved in some effectual settlement of the Irish question One of your principal and most just complaints is that no sufficient attention is given to your affairs in Parliament Whilst months are allotted to the consideration of the British hudget, a few hours are grudged to yours Parliament is paralysed with work. It has undertaken functions it cannot perform. Three separate Parhaments had enough to do to manage the affairs of England, Scotland, and Ireland They were merged into one when the population of the United Kingdom was only fifteen millions That population has now usen to thirty er lit millions. Parliament has, moreover, undertaken to care for your two hundred and eighty millions The sphere of law is becoming both wider and more minute. Surely Parliament ought to be more of an Imperial, less of a local, assembly! For generations to come, England, the heart of the Empire, must have the preponderating influence in Imperial councils That we grant You, who are Indian, and I, who am Irish, trust that our Imperial rights will not suffer from that preponderating English influence But at present the Imperial Parliament is occupied largely with the affairs of under five millions of people, and ministries rise and fall with reference to the question of Ireland, and not in connection with great Imperial interests. The entire Empire is concerned in the speedy settlement of the Irish question

After referring in some detail to various items in the Congress programme Mr Webb concluded an address which had been listened to with profound attention in these words.—"Apart from those family and natumal tres, which to each one of us are the first of life s blessings—the choicest gifts in God—I regard this

Presidents Address visit to India, and permission to take part in the proceedings of this great assemblage, as the highest privilege, and one that cannot but profoundly influence my remaining years. So far, two convictions before all others, press themselves upon me. The one the greatness, apart from its inception and much of its history, of the mission of the United Kingdom in this land—the other that this Congress inovement is the necessary and logical outcome, the richest fruit of that noble mission, of which we citizens of the United Kingdom should be proud. You your-selves are taking up the work—the work which you and you alone can inlimitely perfect—'the gradientom by direct friendly intercourse of all possible race, creed, or national prejudices amongst all lovers of your country.' This is in truth the greatest combined peaceful effort for the good of the largest number of the human race that history has recorded.''

Election of Subjects Committee

The President's address finished, there was one of those little incidents which are the envy and despair of opponents of the national movement-namely. the reading of a letter announcing a gift of Rs 10,000 to the Congress Cause from the young Raigh of Ramnad 'How can we stop a movement to which-as if normal enthusiasm were not enough—meconvenient Rajahs contribute their thousands of Runees?' say opponents How indeed? How much more suitable, think returne Governors, if that money had been contributed to the reising of some fitting memorial with which to mark our beneficent rule! The election of the Subjects Committee, whose function it is to arrange the agenda paper for each day and to select the speakers for the different resolutions, concludes the first day's proceedings. But the work of the day is by no means over-the Subjects Committee has to meet to discuss the substance and the wording of the Resolutions to be brought forward-one hundred keep witted politicians, themselves a small parliament, delegated by the Cougress itself, will hold debate far into the might so that no hasty or all considered proposition may be put forward at to morrow's meeting links a prudent and hard working body this Congress!

Resolution I Cotion Excise Daty The Second Day's Proceedings begin with the reading of the Rules of Dehrer, the terding over of the Standing Orders as it were, and then the Congress settles down to formulate by the uttenances of its choses spokesmen and the words of its written resolutions, its perpetual programme of retrenchment and reform A resolution condemning the imposition of Excess Duty on Indian manufactured cottons on grounds of urgency is given precedence of debute rund becomes Resolution I. This day the Fixess Duty Bill is down for third reading in the Viceroy's Council. Therefore it is deemed advisable that the protest of India's Parliament should be in the hands of India's Legislators before the Bill votaily becomes liw—which by means of the telegraph may be done, and is done after an exhaustive speech from that old Congress wallsh Mr. D. E. Wacin, and after the motion has been newthy seconded by the Hon Mr. A. Sabapathy Mudeliar.

Mr Whelm after saying aimid cheers that the Government of India de served their warin gratitude for having at last been able to extort from the Secretary of State for India the concession to impose an import duty on cotton goods, proceeded to show that this act of tardy justice reluctantly accorded by the auto-

crat at Westminster was accompanied by two disadvantages. Firstly, a large revenue-a crore and a half rupees-had been needlessly sacrificed during the last twelve months and secondly there was the countervaling excise. The excise duty fuled to satisfy the three tests of a sound and successful tax, namely, productive ness, economy and equity In no case could the excise bring in more than 81 lakhs of revenue, which would probably be exten up by the heavy cost of collection ' It will then be reasonably asked why is the Bill brought forward. To that we have a reply from the Financial member bimself. Because the Secretary of State deems it opportune to please the Philistines of Manchester' Loud cries of "Shame !" showed that the speaker had expressed what was in the minds of his hearers and what every one there and many elsewhere knew to be strictly true

Resolution L Cotton Excise Daty

The following sentences put the matter succinctly and clearly "I daresay most of you, if not all, have perused the very able and exhaustive memorial on the subject submitted some time ago to the Government of India by the Bombay Mill Owners Association, also the minute of the Hon Mr Westland, dated 14th July last, which accompanied the despatch of the Government of India to the Secretary of State, dated 7th August recommending that, if any excise duty was to be levied. it should be on all counts of yarn above "twenty fours The former body col lected statistics from 10a mills in the country, 70 of which are in Bombay, the centre of the industry, and conclusively demonstrated that of the total manu factures counts between "twenty fours" and "thirties only come to 6 per cent and that the total value of exports of Indian manufactured cottons above "twenties ' does not exceed 86 lakks of rupees On the other hand, out of the bulk of all descriptions of cotton fabries imported into India from the United Kingdom only 2 per cent are of counts under "twenties' Virtually, then, Lancashire does not compete with this country in the coarser kinds, and India does not compete with Lancashire in the finer kinds. Thus statistics completely disprove the cry of protection. Absolutely nothing is protected by the import duty. which, therefore, in no way acts as a bounty on home made cottons. Thus being the exact economic condition of the indigenous industry, can it be reasonably urged that the excise duty is justifiable . And if it be not justifiable can we not characterise it as unjust? For of what use imposing a duty for which there exists no justification . Again as Mr Westland observed in his speech revenue is not the consideration. That simply emphasizes the injustice. For if there be no necessity to levy it for purposes of revenue and if it is not even for purposes of counter balancing the import duty what is it imposed for? The Honorable the Finance Minister gives a reply to the query It is to please the Secretary of State on behalf of those good and pious people of Manche ter

Resolution II deals with the Land Question and was entrusted in the first place to the able hands of Mr Borkunta Nath Sen, a native of Bengal, the province of the Permanent Settlement The Resolution was a protest against interference by Government with the existing Permanent Settle ment in Bengal and Behar eg, the Behar Cadastral Survey) and with certain permanently settled estates in Madras the Resolution also reminded Government

Resolut on II Land Quest on Resolution II Land Question of certain pledges that had been given to extend the Permanent Settlement, and suggested in a spirit of extreme conciliation that if more permanent settlements were out of the question, there should be at any rate a modified fixity of tenure and immunity from enhancement of land revenue for a period of say 60 years so as to secure, to landholders the benefit of their improvements. In fact this second clause of the Resolution is a demand for an Agricultural Improvements Act—very necessary where an imperunious Government is the landhord.

Mr. Bolkunta Noth Sen pointed nut-an easy task-that the Government were not fulfilling then pledges with regard to the land and then turned aside to meet the modern objections about "uncurned increment" in the following sen tences -"These desputches laid down certum rules for the extension of the permanent settlement. There were certain conditions precedent, it, the bringing under cultivation of a certain portion of the area — four fifths of the entire area was fixed as the amount to be brought under cultivation in order that the perma nant settlement imight be neemided in such local uca. Now in some fracts, with the object of getting that privilege, the combitions have been fulfilled, in some other parts the conditions have been partially fulfilled, and if time will allow they will also surely be fulfilled The fulfilment of these conditions is not in easy thing, it requires the investing of money Here comes in the question of unearned increment It is not the uncarned increment which these land owners are trying to get, they are investing their money, il ey are bestowing their labour, and they ask for a return So you see, these persons who now hold under tem porury settlement, are not at all asking for the uncarned increment. They wish to have the fruits of their own labour and a return for the capital they have invested Before the despatch of 1862 there was no stimulus whatsoover for investing money, becaut there was no knowing when the property might be re measured, when there might be interference by Government again, and when the property would be snatched away from then hands. There was no scenative no value, and therefore no stimulus for investing money. But the despatch of Gos ernment emboldened the people, it induced them to invest their money to improve the land They have fulfilled their put of the contract and if it had been, Gentle men, a question between individual and individual, perhaps one would be inclined to ask 'Why not sue "

The Hon Mr V R Natu then took up the question from the Bombry point of New, asserting strongly that all India Ryots is well as Lemindars were interested in the maintenance of casting Perinauent Settlements. He then proceeded to show how need siry was the second clin e of the Resolution, giving striking uist mees of the outrageous demands of Government. The matter is very simple. Government have had it down that on new Revision of Survey in the Bombay Presidency, the assessment in the case of my given group of vallages shall not be interested by more than 3 per cent. Net Mr Natu was able to quote unquestioned instances where there had been increases, in 3 I slugs in the Ratina giri District and 3 Faluqs in the Albig District, an extremely pool di trict, there had been the enormous increase of 1,200 pci cent. In coucliding he said "We say that whenever jui introduce Revision Surveys you should simply adhere

to your own terms, that you should simply limit your demand to 33 per cent That is the only limited demand. We do not want a permanent settlement in the sense in which it is understood in Bengal. Foreigners, including the President who comes from a foreign country, should not be misled into supposing that the bilk of the population in India requires a permanent settlement in the sense in which it is understood in Bengal. It is a limited demand, a demand accepted by Government as proper and just and followed for some years."

Here cume an amendment Captain Banon—a very old friend of the Congress and, as he himself said, ryotwar of the Punjab—suggests that Congress should propose a permanent settlement for nll India, bringing the land under the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis into the general settlement—of course Bengal losing something by the arrangement, but the rest of India—at least that is Captain Banon's view—gaining largely The following paragraph from his speech, which was very short and very much to the point shows clearly his standpoint

"I may begun by saying that I im very desirous of a permanent settlement for all India, because I myself vm in ryotwar in the Punjah, but the only difficulty that I can see to our getting this permanent settlement is the permanent settlement in present existing in Bengal Government say that they lose quite enough money already by this permanent settlement in Bengal, and that is long as it exists they cannot give a permanent settlement to the rest of India. I live amongst the ryotwars, as I am one of them, and I know that they consider it very unfair to them that they should pay twice as much land revenue as they would pay but for this permanent settlement in Bengal. I would also direct your attention to another question. It has always been alleged against this Congress that it favours the interests of the richer classes as against those of the poorer classes. That I do not believe, but I think if you support this Resolution, you will add a good deal of colour to the necustrous neamest us."

The Amendment is not supported-although it struck a note which may sound louder in the future-and the Hon Mr K Kalyanasundram Iyer, proceeded to unfold the grievances of Tamore Very real grievances they appear to be as the speaker showed well 'Now Gentlemen, what do these constant re settlements mean? You have an excellent illustration in the methods adopted in the re settlement of the district of Tanjore The Government, being fully abve to the evils attendant on settlement operations generally, determined that the average outturn of land should, first and once for all, be estimated upon scientific principles and that in future revisions the rise in prices alone should be taken into account The procedure adopted was this the average yield of land was ordered to be estimated by a scientific classification of soil, but not to be checked and tested by actual experiments in harvesting, apparently this scientific classification of soil is so finely graded that the officers of the settlement department have often, with reference to one and the same soil, been obliged to differ from themselves and each other, while with regard to the actual experiment made the result has been by no means more satisfactory A small plot of land, the tenth part of an acre, was selected by the settlement department itself for the experiment in har

Resolut on II. Land Question vesting, and upon the result of this single experiment hundreds of acres nav thousands of acres, were settled as being able to produce a particular out turn The Mirasidars of the district naturally objected to such a course, they loudly complained that the actual wield of the land in their possession was a great deal less than the estimate fixed by the department, and they clamourously demanded an Aman management for a reasonable period, for the purpose of determining the average yielding capacity of the land, but their complaints and their demands were able rejected and they were in fact told that if the actual facts were not consistent with the theory evolved by the settlement department it was so much the worse for their facts Now. Gentlemen, the ritter unreliability of this theoretical settlement is clearly shown by the action of the authorities themselves The gentleman who was appointed the settlement officer of the district, after a classification of the soil reported to Government that the re-settlement of the district would involve an increase of eighteen and a half lakes of runees the assessment under the old settlement being about forty one lakhs, but he added. that if the district were to be treated upon scientific principles an increase of twenty eight lakhs would not be too much Apparently to the great loss of Government, he finally recommended an increase of only fourteen and a half lakhs This was reduced by the Board of Revenue by two lakhs, and finally by Government to eleven and a half lakhs Thus you see the final decision of the Government imposed an increase of assessment representing only forty per cent of what should have been the increase according to the accurate scientific theory'

Mana Vikrama Raja follows with the complaint of Malabar, another district in Madras, where Revenue Settlement operations are in "full swing". The whole speech gives a clear consecutive account of the history of the land revenue in Malabar and must be read as a whole. To show that the present scheme of government affords ground for complaint the following short quotation from this very able speech will suffice. In the face of the pledge already made, Government has determined to revise the existing assessment in spite of the repeated protests and representations of the people, and a scheme of settlement is at the present moment awaiting the orders of the local Government. I may add that according to this scheme, the custing revenue in three typical Talique of the District under wet, day, and girden lands will be increased by 95 per cent, 49 per cent, and 335 per cent respectively, resulting in an aggregate increase of over 15 lakhs whilst their present revenue is only 10½ lakhs."

Mr Peter Paul Pilla a well known figure at successive Congresses, and others continued to press the case against the Government and then the Resolution on the Land Question was presed unanimously. Mr Seymour keay, Mr P, then came forward undst enthusiastic ebeers to move Resolution III dealing with the poverty of India. In a speech which was frequently cheered to the ecbo, Mr Seymour Kery marshalled in a telling manner a great deal of statistical material A few quotations must be given to show the nature of the argument, but the whole speech is deserving of careful study.

"In the first place, Gentlemen, allow me to give you a general summary of a Parliamentary return which I was able to obtain on my motion three years ago It is a return showing respectively the number and emoluments of the European and the Native officers employed in the Indian Government, receiving pay of Rs 1,000 a year and upwards That return shows that while, if you exclude the rank and file of the European soldiers, there are only 70 000 Europeans in the whole of this vast country, vet of these 70,000 Europeans no less than 28,000 hold Government posts worth over Rs 1000 a year What is the total of their pay? These 28,000 Europeans draw as pay the enormous sum of no less than 15% crores of Rupees a year! Worse still, Gentlemen, the return slows that of these 28,000 Europeans, no less than 33 per cent, that is to say, and part of the whole, although they are quartered upon your revenues, reside not in India but in England ! In other words, they are absolutely non effective for your Government And the amount of pay or rather pension which these absentees receive comes actually to 6 crores of Rupees at this moment every year, and it is growing still ! What country can go on standing that? On the other hand, we have the other page of the Return We have there got a statement as to the Natives who receive pay from the Government of India exceeding Ra 1,000 a year Well I have already mentioned that there are only 70,000 Europeans, but there are not only 70,000 of you There are 287 millious of you the natives of India Yet of the whole 287 millions of Natives, there are only 17,000 persons employed in the whole Empire at a pay of over Rs 1,000 a year What do these 17,000 draw . These 17.000 draw actually only 3 croses of Rupees amongst the whole of them In other words, what you have got is this -the absentee Europeans actually draw from the revenues of your country more than double the whole amount of the whole salary of the whole of the Natives who are allowed to enter into the administration of their own country"

"The first picture that I shall lay before you is a Census taken of twelve villages in the district of Rampore In these twelve villages the population was found to consist of 2,000 persons Of these 1,600 were cultivators and the remaining 400 were labourers What did the Deputy Commissioner, a high Officer of the Government of India, find on the most careful examination, and on an Industrial Survey of the whole of these twelve villages scattered in different parts of Rampore . He found that, after hying aside the rent and cost of cultivation, the whole amount left for the support of the people came only to Rs 16 a year for the cultivator and Rs 13 a year for the labourer The next case is from the Report of the Commissioner of Rai Bareily, with a population of 1,000,000 souls This officer took a census of thurty average families scattered throughout the whole of that populous district, and he found that these thirty families consisted of 173 persons He found that the gross crop amounted to the value of Rs 2,800 He also found that for seed and hired labour and for 25 per cent raterest to the usurer, there had been paid by these 170 persons the amount of Rs 600, and that the rent which they had to pay amounted to Rs 1,080 The result was that deducting this Rs 1,680 from the Rs 2 800, the belance for the sustenance of these villagers and their families amounted to Rs 1,120 In other words, these

Resolution III Poverty of India. 173 persons, man, woman and child had each an amount of $6\frac{1}{2}$ rupees a year for their support!"

This Resolution was supported among others by Lala Mirliddar, in an amusing speech which kept the whole Congress in a perpetual four of laughter. The speech, which is short should be read as a whole, quotations would give no correct idea of the effect produced

Resolution IV Secretary of States Council

The Secretary of State's Council and the need for its abolition formed the subject matter of Resolution IV, which was moved by Mr Lardley Norton in a brilliant and powerful speech A severe, and at times witty, indictment of both the theory and the practise of the Indra Council Why do we object to the India Council? Let Mr Norton answer "We object for this simple reason that although its members are, possibly, imbued with the very best of intentions-mere intentions are not sufficient for practical politics-these same members are swaved by the same official interest, trained in the same official career, steeped in the same official prejudices, as the men out here who, also with the best of intentions, are resolutely endeavouring to thwart and obstruct your moral, material and political reforms Unless and until you sweep away the nowerful association which, through all the intervening stretch of land and sea, is ever ready to help its fellow officials in this country, to condone their faults, to pander to their extravagance, to restrict your privileges, and to deny you your prerogatives, the re constitution of the Legislative Councils must remain machi cally a sham "

The speaker then proceeded to deal in a masterly manner with the constitution and powers of the Council Of the Council's commercial incapacity l'ere is what he said -"Although Lord Canning in 1858 sent an urgent despatch to the Secretary of State strongly protesting against his contemplated action, that parti cular Secretary of State in Council sanctioned the construction of the Calcutta and South Eastern Radway, and guaranteed interest at the rate of 5 per cent This was done after eleven years experience had taught that such concessions will preconcilable with the true interests of India The result of this was that the whole thing practically became bunkrupt, and the Secretary of State had to pin el ase the railway at the cost of half a milhon sterling ! Not content with this purchase of 1858, m 1859 the Conneil granted another concession, this time, by way of strict impartiality, in my own particular Presidency of Madras, to the Madras Irrigation Company upon substantially the same basis, guaranteeing to pay in perpetuity interest at 5 per cent upon one milhon pounds sterling Soon after this it was found the calculations were all wrong. The work never paid its expenses. What did the Sceretary of State in Council do r He promptly advanced an additional £6,000 without scentity, with the result that eventu ally India had to buy this concern at par I have dealt with Calcutta and Madras Let us see what is done in the Presidency to which Mr Wacha belongs I find in Bombay that in 1869 the India Council sanctioned the purchase of the Fit hinstone Land and Press Company for Re 1,000 per share while the selling price was only Rs 339 These illustrations show that the commercial caracity of the gentlemen who receive handsome salures, and pensions from us is not so great as to entitle them to retain our confidence or our admiration."

"Now let us look at some interesting figures illustrative of the hecitious and crumnal extravagance of these twelve or four-leen gentlemen at home. India has been charged—and has had to pay—£821,100 for the erection of certain huldings in England. Of this £540,000 has been absorbed in the construction and furniture of the India Office, a place not infrequently devoted to grung, at the expense of India, costly entertainments to visitors to England unconnected with this country. I find that £70,000 have been spent on the erection of a hibrary, £68,000 upon our old friend the Store Depôt, and £100,000 upon the Indian Engineering College for the manufacture of experts who after importation find themselves shelved in favour of Royal Engineers. Now I come to the most extraordinary and alumning of all the items, namely, £38,000 which have been spent, Sir, on the construction of a Lunatic Asylum at Faling." The manner in which M. Norton dealt with the fumous institution at Ealing must be read in the full report.

Concluding, the speaker accurately voiced the feelings of all present in the following sentences. "With me there is no mending that Council. It must be ending. Let it be descriptated and its head decently hunded in another continent to that in which lies interred its trunk, lest the two hancful things re unite and the monster be resuscitated. For a worse system than the present could not be in vented by the ingenuity of man. The Council is a secret hody, its discussions are not public, its conclusions do not see the light of day, it is not open to the influence of outside criticism, it is not responsible to Parliament, it cannot be affected by public opinion. You cannot have a worse body than that to rule or to mis rule you."

Mr Mudholkar in support emphasized the litter uselessness of the India Council and related the following striking instance of a grievance against this Council "You know, Gentlemen-particularly those of you who come from Bombay-what the Inam commission is When the Inam Commission was let loose in certain provinces, which need not be mentioned here, certain Inams were attached and the proceeds taken to the Government treasury pending investigation, which in some cases went on for a period of 25 years. At last it was found that the Inamdars were entitled and their claims were allowed. But during all this time Government had received the profits The Inamdors asked for arrears The Government of India disallowed the claim There was an appeal to the Secretary of State and his Council Well, one would have expected that if the claim was just, Government would have taken time to verify the thing No! Claims of right and justice like this would most certainly hamper the hands of our Council, and these claims were summarily rejected. This is the justice which is received from the highest executive authority" With the passing of this Resolution the business of the Second day came to an end

The Third Day's Proceedings opened with Resolution V relating to the promised Financial Enquiry. Mr Midaler in moving the Resolution well

Financial Foquiry

And finally, referring to the cry of Anglo Indian Officirlism that the full in Exchange has been the sole cause of the financial embarrassment of the Government of India, the speaker made the following significant statement, founded as he had previously explained on the published accounts of the Government of India. "Gentlemen, the increase in the Revenues in this country exceeded the increase in the cost of exchange by 2½ crores, and by that same amount, namely, 2½ crores, the increase in Whitary and Caul expenditure exceeded the increase in the Revenues. I want you to appreciate these facts, which I am giving you on the figures of the Government of India. I want you to realize that these facts give the lie direct to the assertion of the Government of India that the fall, in the ripee has accounted for the deficit and has been the sole cause of it."

Wr G Subramania Iyer, the able Editor of the Hindu Newspaper, brought further damaging evidence against the financial methods of the Government of India, quoting no less an authority than Sir W Hunter. Here is what he said — 'Sir Wilham Hunter writing in the columns of the Lines has gone to the extent of accusing the Government of India of want of bionesty generally. When he criticised Mr Westland's budget, in which Exchange was taken at 14d per Rupee, although everybody knew that that rate was occessively high, Sir W Hunter oven said that Mr Westland did that in order to mitigate the scandal of sacrificing 14 millions of Rupees of potential Indian Revenue to party exigencies in Fingland, in other words, he asserted that this high rate of exchange was assumed in order to allay the public feeling against the evclusion of Manchester goods from the Inniff Act. Such being the case, Sir, it will not be said that we are presumptions in insking for this enquiry into the ability of the Indian people to bear their ovisting financial burdens.'

The same speaker neatly summed up the financial history of India during the last ten verts in a couple of sentences. "Mr Westland said in his bud get speech that within the last ten years, four new taxes had been imposed and the surpluses of the Provincial Governments swept off into the Imperial coffers. Still the financial difficulties have not disappeared, for the very sufficient reason that all the further proceeds of this taxinon have been spent upon wars and upon Compensation Allowance to the Furopean Employes of Government.

And Mr Agarkar from Pooun reminded his heavers of the abortive Faweett Committee on this que tion of finance, and made a predictal suggestion by which its lost labours might be recovered and utilized. "You are all aware that as far back as the year 1870 or thereabouts, the British Parliament appointed a similar Committee of Friquiry which was popularly styled the Faweett Committee because Mr Faweett, who e immortal name stands indebbly engraved on the hearts of the whole Indian nation, was one of its members. This Committee laving continued its labours for four full years, recorded a large mass of evidence, but had no time to give a heport or to similarise the evidence it had collected, because by the time the labours of this Committee has been nearly completed, tho British Parliament was dissolved, and along with it this Committee alse was dissolved.

Financial Enquiry

Resolution V

Resolution VI Simultaneous Examinations examination of the Revinue side of the administration included in it, the work of this Committee will have been much simplified. They have only to fill up the gap which the last Committee left at the end of 1882, and to examine half-a dozen writesses, the heads of each department, with a view to ascertaining the change that has taken place during the last 20 years, and when this is done the enquiry will not occupy a very large portion of the Committee's time"

The next Resolution was one, like the last, of considerable present interest. It was the opportunity for educated and thinking India to give its answer to Mr Fowlers despatch on the question of Simultaneous Examinations, and a very significant and weighty answer it is. This was Resolution VI on the question of Simultaneous Examinations, protesting against the way in which like Secretary of State and the Government of India had set aside the vote of the House of Commons on this subject. The occasion was one to call forth all the gifts of an orator and Mr Surendra Nath Banerjea acquitted himself in a manner worthy of the occasion and of his own high reputation. Here is India's reply by the laps of her favourite orator to the Secretary of State's despatch on Simultaneous Examinations.

Mr Surendra Nath Banerica begins by expressing the disappointment which had been experienced "Gentlemen, last year about this time, we were rejoicing that the Houso of Commons had definitely affirmed the principle of Simultaneous Examinations Last year about this time, in Congress assembled, we expressed the hope—I was somewhat sceptical about the matter—that the Government of India would see its way to give effect to the resolution of the Houso and fulfill the just and legitimate aspirations of the people of India Those hopes have now been bristed We meet to day under the shadow of a great dis appointment 'He then proceeds to describe Mr Iowlers despatch in terms which arouse enthusiastic assent from the 1,200 delegates there assembled

"Our Sovereign has passed round the word of emancipation, sho has declared that we are to be free, that we are to be elugible to the highest offices in the State, Parlament has endorsed the mandate, and we shall see to it that no minister of the Cowin, however highly placed he may be, that no Government, however inflinential it may be is permitted to millify the gracious pledges of our Sovereign and the authoritative declaration of Parlament Gentlemen, last year about this time, I have already remarked, we were rejoicing about the resolution of the House of Commons. These rejoicings have given place to disappointment I do not know what view you take of the despatch of the Secretary of State. I regard it in the light of a deliberate affront offered to the public opinion of this country."

The speaker then turned to the despatch itself and literally riddled it with his destructive criticism, denouncing in no measured terms the spectre of racial disability which this despitch had conjured up from a dead past. This is what India thinks of the Secretary of State's despatch. "The Secretary of State in that document invites the Government of India to state the conditions subject to which, in the opinion of the Government, the resolution may be given effect to

Resolution VI Simultaneous Examinations

Mark the loyalty of the Secretary of State to his masters, the House of Commons It is evident from the words of the despatch which I have just quoted that, in the omnion of the Secretary of State, the resolution of the House of Commons cannot be given effect to in its entirety, for he wants an expression of opinion from the Government of Iudia as to the modifications subject to which the resolution may The views of the Secretary of State-the sinister views I was going to add-become more apparent in the second paragraph of the despatch The Secretary of State openly invites the Government of India to open the hatters of its hostile criticism upon the doomed resolution of the House of State sais, in the language of diplomacy which is usual on such occasions, that he has no desire to fetter the discretion of the Government of India with regard to any remark which the Government may think fit to make upon the resolution of the House of Commons I should like to know what the Secretary of State himself would think if the Government of India were to sond round i despatch, which it had received from the Secretary of State, and invite the various subordinate Governments to treat it in the spirit of bostile criticism, but, perhaps, that is only nn error in form, a mistake in procedure. We come to something which is a great deal worse in the third paragraph. He says that it is to be an indispens able condition on the part of any recommendation which the Government of India mny make, that an adequate number of appointments should be held by Europeans The Secretary of State need not have taken the trouble to say so. It was a mere worklof supererogation At the present moment the Civil Service is the monopoly of Europeans"

And here is had bare the true meaning of this official document. Gentle men, when the Secretary of State lays down this recommendation in this naked form, in this indisguised fashion he invites a protest and a memostrance, for the Secretary of State now, for the first time, introduces the element of racial distability into a question from which considerations of racial disability have been eliminated for a period of more than thirty years, for what does the order of the Secretary of State amount to ? It comes to this that it Simultaneous Examinations were granted, and, say, that fifty appointments were competed for, and the first fifty candidates were Natives of India, all of them would not get the appointments—some of them would be disqualified by reason of them have, they would suffer for the crime of colour. Would the Secretary of State venture to introduce a condition like this just now? If not, why should he be permitted to conjure up into existence the dead, hursed and forgotten spectre of recal disability?

Finally after showing with inexorable logic that the spirit of the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 was being shamelessly violated—a Proclamation which the worst Government India ever had (that of Lord Lytton) concurred with the best Government she ever had (that of Lord Ripon) in regarding as peculiarly sacred and binding upon all—Mr Surendra Nath Baneries concluded in these noble words "But, Gentlemen, it is open to us in the meantime to prove by our loyalty, our devotion, and self sacrifice that we are qualified for the boon we part for So let the moral victory prepare the way for that joiltical emancination to which our

Resolut on VI Simultaneous Framinations

fondest aspirations tend. The promised land is full in view but an untoward fate prevents us from entering it, nevertheless, from the Sinai of faith and hone, like Moses of old, we may obtain a prospective view of the clories of the land of Canaan. the destined inheritance of our children and our children's children fident that in the fulness of time, under the Providence of God and the austices of British Rule, they will take possession of this land of momise where their fetters will fall off, their badge of political slavery will disappear, where, being British subjects in name, they will be British subjects in reality, and where, under the fo terms influence of free political institutions, they will develop a civilisation the noblest which the world has ever seen, the emblem of indissoluble union be tween England and India, a cushisation fraught with unspeakable blessings to the nearly of India and unspectable renown to the English using that is the future which with the eye of faith we see awaits us, that is the future which looms in the distance, that is the future which inspires us with an enthusiasm of which the Angle Indian burganeracy can have no conception that is the future for which we work, and for a buch some of us, at any rate, are prepared to lay down our lives it is the future of an emancipated people, ennobled by the spirit of liberty consecrated by the genus of self sacrifice and consolidated by fervent lovality to the British connection '

After the great erator man, more press home the heavy charges against the Government in this particular. Raight Rampal Singh, an old and staumed worker in the Congress, makens inectinguishable laughter by his quaint way of exposing the claimsy efforts of an ex Secretary of State to cancel the Queen's Proclamation by a flank attack. Speaking of the doctrine of equality which breathes throughout that Proclamation his said—"As we did not appreciate these blessings, no objection was thrown in our way, but when a few of our Bengali friends passed their Examinations successfully in Fingland then Lord Lytton's Government began to including a moderate a letter, a private letter, after consulting all the Governors and Lecutemant Governors, to Lord Cranbrook, and in this he proposed that the systems of the Military and Civil Service, should be closed for Indians. To this Lord Cranbrook replied that shutting up the Board of the Civil Service would require the struction of Parhament, which he said the did not that to miderately above use is the did not expect succes structure of the Civil Service would require the struction of Parhament, which he said the did not that to miderately she cause he did not expect succes structure.

We Venk its Subbs Row, of Madris, puts the merits of the case very clearly thus — What is our case? Gentlemen, there are competitive examinations held, at which endidates are selected for the Civil Service of India. Well, if it was declared that these examinations are not open to the natives of this country. I should not be standing here to argue this particular question. But our rulers do not by that They say that the examinations are open both to Finghishmen and Indians. They say that the proceed only upon considerations of ment as determined by the ecompetitive examinations. They do not object even if all the successful candidates at these competitive examinations should turn out to be Iruna 4, they would cause no objection whatever. But with all this farmers of

Resolution VI Simultaneous Examinations.

principle, with il this love of even hindedness, with ill this good feeling for Indians, our rulers do one thing which practically millifies their benevolent intentions. They hold their eximinations in London, and in London alone, near the homes of Englishmen and far away from here, far nff from the native place of those who are directly interested in those examinations.

Mi Hafiz Abdul Rahim—a Mahomedan from that centre of Mahomedan exclusiveness and opposition, Abgarh—voices the approval of enlightened and educated Mahomedan opinion with the claims which the Congress puts forward. "Gentlemen, there is no doubt that Mahomedans have become poor in comparison with their former state, it is alleged, and it is not denied, that they are poorer than other communities at present. You know that it is not the richer and wealther classes that take to the Service ill out the world, it is generally the middle class that desires to join the public service of the land. But it is heyond the means and power unfortunately of the Indian middle classes to send then youth to England. If the Civil Service Examinations were held in India it is my sincere conviction that Mahomedan jouths would derive greater hencits than they can ever derive if the Examination continues to be held in London mily."

Finally Mr Josh and Professor Goldinde criticise still further but always effectively this spectre of racial distributy which has been resuscitated by the Secretary of State in his ill conceived despatch Mr Josh says. "The ovil that has been done in the despatch of the Secretary of State is this that the Secretary of State has introduced a new principle by way of racial distinction I say, Gentlemen, that this is a monstrous principle to introduce in the case of this country, for this reason that if you once admit the principle that a certain minimum number of Europeans is necessary in the Civil Service of this country, there will be a time not very distant when you can imagine the Anglo Indian burcuicricy stopping you from going even to England and competing through the channel that is open to you at present."

And Prof Gokhale from Poona—that home of learned men and able politicians, pace the cricketing Governor's different opinion—clinches the matter in a few sober and dignified sentences "The Government of India and the Secretary of State have now authoritatively laid down that a certain minimum number of posts, and those the highest, must always and for all time to come be held by Europeans, and most of the local Governments have supplied a key to this proposition by saying in their despatches that that minimum has now been reached. The doctrino of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, therefore, means that the present arrangements should be perpetuated, and is, in fact, an attempt to keep is always under as a subject race Gentlemen, is it not plainly our duty as men not to allow this barefaced attempt to succeed? Some of our opponents often say. "But you are a subject race Now all that I would say to such men is this, "We know we are a subject race, and the consciousness is humiliating enough, and they are not good friends of the Finnar who includes in the justime of needlessly reminding us of the fact."

It has three branches

It is, the Assistant Surgeons

These are our graduates in medicine, who have passed both educational and professional tests higher than those required for the I M S, and being Assistant Surgeons on Rs 100 a month, rise to be old Assistant Surgeons on Rs 200 a month and retire on the grand pension of Rs 100, whilst members of the Military Service who sponge on the Civil Department rise from Rs 500 to Rs 2,500

The Assistant Surgeons do, and have done, all the work, even field work as Volunteers in the Afghan and other campaigns, of the Civil Military Surgeons, but without their pay or their position "

Resolution VIII Medical Service

And again .- "Then there are two other enlistments for the subordinate service-one military and the other civil-the former heing open to Christians only But see what difference the element of religion makes in the treatment accorded to the two classes John, the Christian, and Pandu, the non-Christian, both seek admission to their respective services. John, the Christian, need not know more than the High School fourth standard, reading, writing, and sums but Pandu, the non-Christian, must pass a much higher test. They both go through the same professional course and examination John, the Christian, then begins as a Mili tary Apothecary, and works under the regimental Surgeons His salary ranges from Rs 50 to Rs 450 He may, however, be promoted to the uncovenanted grade and given even Rs 750 by heing found a post in the Civil Department His new designation is Assistant Surgeon, I M S, and he rises from the rank of Lieutenant to that of Major But Pandu, the non Christian, begins as a Hospital Assistant and dies a Hospital Assistant. His work is as vast as it is responsible He practises medicine, surgery and midwifery He it is who really dispels the ignorance and prejudice of the masses in regard to the western system of medicine He treats a thousand times more cases in a month than the highest officer of a hospital does in a year On his judgment, intelligence and integrity depend the lives of his fellow citizens in the mofussil, questions of life and death turning upon the nature of his evidence in medico legal cases. But, alas the respectability and responsibility of this most important servant of the State are in an inverse ratio, and that too in very abnormal proportions. One feels almost ashamed to say that the non Christian Pandu who does such responsible and excellent work for the Government is paid no higher salary than is paid to a semor punka wallah in the hospital, or a cook or a coachman The scale of his pay is Rs 16 to Rs 80 odd"

Other speakers press the matter bome, and we pass on to the IXth Resolution relating to the Legislative Councils. It must always be a matter of regret that the Government of India and the various Provincial Governments in the various Rules framed under the Indian Councils Act of 1892 gave so niggardly an interpretation of the rights conferred by the Statute. The authorities in India have unfortunately succeeded in thwarting to no inconsiderable extent the expressed purpose and plain intentions of Parliament in this respect. Pandit Madan Mohan Makayya of Albahabad—a welcome speaker at the

Congress-had no difficulty in showing bow far the actual facts fell short of

Legislative Councils Resolution IX Legislative Co noils Mi Gladstone's anticipation of "a real living representation of the people" or of Lord Subbury a strongly expressed hope that representation would be given "to the living strength and vital forces of the whole community of India" Mr Bhagiratha Prisad, of Nagpur, showed in a very clear and well reasoned speed the peculiar folly of the arrangements which had been made with regard to the Central Provinces While complaints from the Punjah, who have been ignored altogether, Bombay, Madria and Bengal, proved how wide is the dissatisfaction with the present rules

At the close of the day's proceedings a very sad piece of intelligence became known and was communicated from the Chair at the time of adjournment. The evening pipers had announced the sudden death from Diphtheria of the young Maharajah of Mysore, whose progressive reign had long excited universal feelings of admiration and respect.

the obstron X
Note of sympathy
with Royal
Family of
My ore

At the hegmaing of the Fourth Day's Proceedings there was brought home to everyone the consciousness of the lactima terum. Very quietly in the presence of a public sorrow did the delegates assemble and then the President in a few simple but eloquent words moved in the name of the whole Congress a vote of sympathy with the Royal Family of Mysore in their sad hereavement. The Indian Congress pointed with Leen regret, touched with a sense of patriotic pride, to the loss which the Indian Peoples had sustained by the premature close of a constitutional reign which was at once "a vindication of their political capacity, an example for their active emulation, and an earnest of their future political liberties."

Resolution XI Trial by Jury In the next resolution Congress asked for an extension of the jury system, but late so wantonly invaded by Sir Charles Elhot, that finality abould be given to verdicts of acquittal passed by a jury, and that in any case the power at present possessed by Government to appeal against acquittal should be taken away. The reasonableness of the demand for an extension of the system of trial by jury was forcibly put by the Hon Wr C H Sitalvad of Bombay "Suffice it to say that the agration that followed that Notification and the Report of the Commission that was appointed by Government to consider that matter fully established, once for all, that the system of trial by jury instead of being a failure, as was sought to be made out by the officials, was a complete success, while some of the members of the Commission recommended its further extension Gentlemen, if trial by jury is a necessity in England I maintain that it is a greater necessity in India where the majority of the Judges, unacquainted with the manners and customs of the people, are not in a proper position, as a jury selected by the people themselves would be to deal with questions of fact

Alluding to Government's power of appealing against acquittals, the same speaker brought out the glaring injustice of this proceeding in a manner it does not seem easy to refute "Under this provision of the law, Government have the power of appealing against any order of acquittal, appellate and original, and the Limitation Act allows them the long period of six months within which they can do it. Contrast this with the privilege accorded to an accused appealing

against conviction. If an accused is sent to jul for a period of one month, or is sentenced to a fine of Rs. 50, or is committed to the Sessions, he has no power to appet it, while in the case of summing trials he has no power of apped at all. Even in cases where he has the power to appeal, he must exercise that power within 30 days, in the case of convictions by Magneti ites, and within 60 days, in the case of convictions by Magneti ites, and within 60 days, in the case of convictions by Sessions Courts. Thus, Gentlemen, while an accused person—I ought to say a native accused person, because the Grimmal Procedure Code most shamelessly violates the fundamental principles of law, that the law is no respector of persons, and exempts European British subjects from these Rules—mist appeal within 30 or 50 days, as the case may be, when he is sentenced to indergo rigorous imprisonment for 3 months, or must make up his mind to sit still and hear it, your august Government with all their resources at their back have the proud privilege of hanging the sword of Damoeles over the head of acquitted persons for 6 months."

Mr. K. N. Desmuki put in a strong plea for the Central Provinces, who are certainly very hardly used in most things by a paternal Government—in fact they are the ugly duckling of our Indian Administration. Here is the short list of them growances. Mr. K. N. Desmuki says, "I am from the Central Provinces, the non regulated provinces, the provinces having no Legislative Council, the provinces having no Chartered High Court, the provinces having no jury system. So you see, Gentlemen, we want many things. But be not afraid, please, we do not want them all at once and at one and the same time. Our Indian people are well known to the civilised world for their patience. Among other things that we want is the jury system."

And aguin, he shows that the demand is no revolutionary request "We do not want anything which is now to us, we do not want anything which is an innovation to us, but we want a thing which was the right and privilege of our fortfathers, we want a thing which was enjoyed by our worthy forefathers, and enjoyed without any disturbance, without any interference. And what was that "It was the jury system, but fortunately or unfortunately it had a very different name, a name known to all of you here, and that was the "Pinchaget" system."

We Ambica C Mozundar in a post-ful speech, carries vigorous war into the comp of the opposition. He opens with the following eloquent sentences. Sir, the almost proverbial immobility of Indian reform is probably nowhere so conspicuous as in the slow and imperceptible development of the system of trial by Jury. Here it seems to have moved in cycles even larger than the coff the right planetary system under which we have Decades passed away after the British conquest before the system of trial by jurians properly secured to Her Majesty's Indian subjects bring within the Pranadency towns. If then took three decades more to reach a few favoured spots in the regions of the Western and the Eistern Ghats and the Asam Valleys, and then another cycle of full thirty years rolled away before seven districts in the Cangetic Provinces came to receive its blessings. There it has ever since stood as if fossilized beyond all possibility of further growth. But now that the country

Resolut or XI Trial by jury has completed another revolution of thirty years more, has not the usual period of probation passed and the time fully arrived for doling out another measure of this reform to the suffering millions of this vast empire? If the privilegois still to be withhold Anglo Indian bureaucracy must be false to its own established tradition?

Then, after placing some carefully prepared statistics before his herers he sums up their results thus —"From these it would appear that while the Magnitrates were found wrong in 30 per cent of cases in which there was an appeal from their decisions, Sersions Judges atting with assessors were found wrong in about 28 per cent, while juries were found wrong only in 1½ per cent with the largest possibility of 11 per cent. It follows, therefore, that as regards perversity of judgment, Judges left to themselves are at least 2½ times as perverse as Judges kept strught by jurors, while the Vagnitrate's perversity is 2 degrees in excess of that of the Sessions Judges.

Finally he draws a vivid meture of the arbitrary and anomalous ad ministration of the criminal law in British India, as between district and district "Gentlemen" he says "a minider is a murder, with the gallows for its destined goal, whether it is committed in Diece of in Faridgur, and jot the incress accident of its being committed on this or thit side of in almost imaginary line, sometimes drawn through restless waters, may determine whichlet the same man shall be dealt with as a true citizen or as a bondsman Sir, whore is the clause in the great testahent of the Queen Mother that, while imposing upon my head the liabilities of her Government deprives me of an equal share in the privileges of her rale? Why should I day by day and year after your, standing on one bank of a river, gaze mountfully on the other bank, and have to say to myself that it is over there that the shieckles fall off and true citizenship begins?"

Resolution XII
Separation of
Judicial and
Frecutive
Fuctions

Resolution AII deals with that important question, long over ripe for solution, of the separation of judicial and executive functions The three or four short speeches on this subject, of such vital interest to the poorer classes of the people who are at the mercy of a corrupt police, should be carefully read A single quotation from one of them must here suffice Mr K Srinivasa Row says -"I will give you one example in which the combination of the executive and undicial functions has been a fulure In the Bellary district, (my own district) a confidential circular was sent round by the District Magistrate to the effect that the Magistrates who hear and decide cases should remember that they are respon sible for the detection and suppression of crime Thoy were told that the duty which we thought was entirely the duty of the Police was to be undertaken by them The Magistrates are asked to support and assist the Polico And I will tell you why this was done Government found that when the last Administration Report was published the number of convictions was not quite as large as they desired, and our Editors -- a hom we have either to thank or curse, I do not know which—sat upon the Administration Report and said that poor convictions showed Government therefore wanted to show to the Editors a larger number of convictions as being synonymous with greater efficiency in Criminal Administration Accordingly this Circular was issued which means in effect that the District Magistrate should ask his subordinates to make friends with the Police, and that if fault is found with the Police, they should excess them"

Resotation XIII
The Punjab Chief
Court

On Resolution XIII praying for the establishment of a Chartered High Court in the Panjab, Baksbi Jaishi Ram, of Lahore, spoke with authority want equal treatment with other subjects of Her Majesty the Queen As there is such a large surplus under the head of Law and Justice, I do not see why the people of the Punjab should not have a High Court when the people of the North West Provinces and Oudh have one The law which is in force in the Punjab is the same as that which is in force in Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the North-West Provinces The Highest tribunal is the High Court, and it is only that Court that can give final decisions in important matters connected with the welfare of the people Another ground for the establishment of a High Court is that there is an anomaly in reference to Appeal cases in our Province. There is no right of Appeal in the case of soits the value of which is within Rs 1,000, when the judgment of the Appellate Court agrees with the judgment of the Original Court" The people of Sindh also are deeply interested in this question-as at present their highest appellate court, short of the Privy Council, is a Judicial Commissioner, n covenanted civilian, who may be a good officer, but very bad Judge A High Court for the Punjab might well have jurisdiction over Sindhin easy railway communication with Lahore-pending better arringements for litigants in Sindh

Resolution AIV on Military and Civil expenditure was necessarily of interest because of the growing attention which the abnormal growth of Indian expenditure is attracting to all financial questions connected with India Mr Wacha—an old authority on this and all financial questions—had no difficulty in strengthening the assertion of all persons baying knowledge of the subject (with the not unnatural exception of the Government of India and India Office officials) that not exchange but excessive and runously extrivagant expenditure on the Military and Civil Services is the true cause of India's financial distress. His speech, which bristles with statistics, must be read in extense as it defies quotation

Passing over a short resolution on Public Education we come to Resolution XVI—the Omnibus Resolution—the Resolution which sets forth the standing grievances of the Indian Empire Pandit Bishan Narun Darin an able speech made the following brief and emphatic assertion, which was loudly cheered "Gentlemen, if I were isked to point out any action or any measures of the Government of India to show that the policy of the Government in this country has of late been that India is not for Indians or for Englishmen but solely and wholly for Anglo-Indians, I should point to two measures, I should point to the rejection of our demands for Simultaneous Examinations, and I should point to the granting of Exchange Compensation Allowance India is at present governed in the interests of a particular class Now, Gentlemen, I look upon these two actions of Government is two crimes—grave crimes committed agunst the just aspirations of the people of this country, agunst the honour of England and against the publicst instincts of lumpunit "

Resolution XIV Military and Civil Expendi

ture

Resolution XVI

tion

Resolution XVII Proposed further powers of Dis trict Magistrates

Resolution XVII is very important. It deals with proposed amendments to Section 15 of the Police Act of 1861 A serious wrong is about to be perpetrated -has already been perpetrated-and prompt action ought to be taken in England and India to bring the Indian Government back into the ordinary noths of courts and common sense Let Messrs Mudholkur, of the Bernes and Namioshi, of Says Mr Mudholkar "There is a section in the Police Act by Poona, explain which if it is found that any part of the country is in a disturbed condition. Government have the power of imposing what is called a punitive police there that is a police specially so employed, and the co t of that police is defrayed not from the general revenue of the country but from a tax specially raised for that number The tax is levied in the locality where the police have to be quartered suggested to Government that this measure-which has been in existence from 1861-is not a just one, that it is desirable to make some changes, and that it is only persons who have really committed any disturbance who should defray those expenses At first sight this looks very just and proper, but look at the insidious manner in which this principle is sought to be worked out. The way in which the Government proposes to proceed is this, whenever such a Police has to be employed the cost of such additional police force shall be borne as the Magistrate of the District may direct. Now let us understand what this means. It means that such community or classes as the Magistrate thinks has committed the offence is to be taxed with the whole thing, but not only that, his power of differential ation extends to that community as a whole. He may say that only five or six men who are responsible shall be called on to pay, such persons in such manner and to such extent as he thinks fit If there is a man against whom he has a grudge, that man may be singled out, and from that man the whole cost can be claimed "

"Then there is this dangerous procedure existing, not only with regard to the imposition of the tax, but also with regard to another thing in which the same powers are given. If any damage to property is caused, if any person has received grierous hurt, or any person is killed, power is given to the District Magistrate to give compensation for the loss or for the destruction of property, or for the injury caused to the person. Their compensation he has got the power of levying from such classes of the community as he thinks proper, or from such individuals, in such manner, and to such extent, as he thinks proper

Mr Namjoshi after alluding to various defects in the proposed legislation points out that 'n section 30 or 31 it proposes to entrust to the Police, to the Inspector or the officers of the Police, the novel power of stopping, controlling and regulating processions or assembles not only in public places but also in privite places. Such a power, be adds, is "dangerous' and 'unprecedented'" "It is unprecedented in that it im makes the blessings, that it im makes the good that written law gurantees to the subjects of foreign rule, masmich as it legies not only large powers but large powers of discretion, not only to District Magis trates but to Superintendents of Police, and not only to Superintendents of Police, and some lower grades of Police Officers also."

Then we come to numerous Resolutions of great, though minor, importance On Forest Management, which the subordinates of the Forest Department make to piess heavily on the poor people within their jurisdiction. On the Liberty of the Press, relating to a groes violation of this principle of rudimentary justice, in British territory within the houndaries of native States—rather late in the day, pertinently remarks one of the speakers, to plend for the liberty of the Press I on the arbitrary character of the imposition for Water cess, one of those side-attacks on existing rights by which governments not infrequently cancel long established concessions. Finally to formal Resolutions and a few last words by the President spoken simply from an honest heart, and sympathetic understanding. Then amid he try cheers for Her Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress, for India's old and valued friend Mr. A. O. Hume, and for India's distinguished son and trusted representative in the British Purliment. Ur. Dadabhat Nacroji, the Tenth Indian National Congress brought its ardnows labours to a successful and appropriate terramation.

GLOSSARY OF INDIAN TERMS USED IN THE REPORT

Abkarı Excise of spirits

Amanı

Faslı

Inam

Janma

Agraharamdar A landholder under a particular tenure

Management of Land Pevenue direct under Government

Candy A messure (Madras)=500 lbs
Crore A numeral=ten milhons
Durdar A ceremonal assembly

Of or belonging to a harvest, the agricultural year, beginning

about April or May

Gauralshan: Cow protection There is a widespread movement in India for protecting and preserving cows, the sacred animal of the

Hudn

A guft grant of land (ht a reward)

Inam bolder, grantee of land, land owner

Landlord (Malabar)

Kons=Khots Landholders under a particular tenure—landlords

Kotwal Police officer administrative officer generally

Lahh A numeral=160 000 When denoting sums of Rupees by figures
the arrangement of the commas is determined by the number
of crores or lakhs and not by the thousands Thus
Rs 317,94 62 000=317 crores 94 lakhs and 62 thonsand

rupees

Malguzar Payer of Revenue, landford (Central Provinces)

Maruadi, Maruari One of the banker caste, a banker

Mırasdar, Mırasıdar A landholder

Matuseel Country districts as apposed to capital towns

Munsifi A judicial other Paldj Lubin ked rice Pantal Sled, paython

Pandit A learned man—professor
Pan A l w caste man, a servant

Penkeral \ tell ute or offering land revenue

Pulla fufect (ht baked, cooked) used of Government posts &c, it signifies the permanent as distinguished from the active

appointment

Purkal wallal Pankah man, the servant who pulls the punkah

Putti A measure=500 lbs

I ymnsh Measurement surves

Riot ryotear Terant, occupant of land not under any landlord or middle

man

Reflects To mergli-the system of individual holdings direct from

habhu A 20ctety, nasociatioli

Sanyası An ascetic

Sarregansk Salka An influential political association at for na

Stastras Sern tural code of law

Shikar Huntu g a day's slukar=n day's shooting

Slukarı A hunter

Soucear A money lei di i

hudra The lowest of the four great ca tes, Brahmin (priest), Kahattera

(warrior), layera (merchant); Sadra (servant)

Natural A title-deed
Talug, Talugo An administrative area

Taluq far A f'alaq I older, an estate helder, big landlord, &c.

Ti annal, An administrative area for purposes of police

loree A Sun hat

Ballah A fellow, a man Congress wallah a Congress man

/er in lar A landholder, landowner

RESOLUTIONS

✓ PASSED AT THE

TENTH -INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

HELD AT MADRAS

On the 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th December, 1894.

RESOLUTION I.

. Resolved—(a) That this Congress respectfully enters its emphatic protest against the injustice and impolicy of imposing excise duty on Cottons manufactured in British India, as such excise its calculated to cripple seriously the infant Mill Industry of this constry Cotton Excise Duty

- (5) That the Congress puts on record its firm conviction that in proposing this excess the interests of India have been sacrificed to those of Lancashire, and it strongly deprecates any such surrender of Indian interests by the Secretary of State
- (c) That in case the Lxcise Bill becomes law this Congress carriestly prays that the Government of India will without delay seek the sanction of the Secretary of State to exercise the powers which the Bill confers on Government to exempt all Cottons from "twenties" to "twenty-foure" from the operation of the Act
- (d) That the President be anthorized to telegraph the above Resolution to the Government of India and to the Secretary of State

RESOLUTION IL

Resolved—(a) That this Congress desires to express the profound alarm which has been created by the action of Government in interfering with the existing Fermanent Settlement in Bengil and Behar (in the matter of Survey and other cessee) and with the terms of sounads of permanently settled estates in Madris, and, de-ming such interference with solemn pledges a national calamity, hereby pledges itself to oppose in all possible legit mate ways all such re-actionary attacks on permanent settlements and their holders, and resolves to petition Parliament in that bohalf.

Land Question

(b) That this Congress regrets extremely that the Government of India have not only failed to carry out the pledges (given by the Secretary of State in his de-synthess of 1862 and 1865) for permanent settlement in the Provinces in which it does not exist, but have also failed to give effect to the policy of granting modified fixity of tenure and immunity from enhancements laid down in 1852 and 1884 by the Government of India and approved by the Secretary of State, and this Congress herely entreats the Government of India to grant a modified fixity of tenure and unmunity from enhancement of land tax for a sufficiently long period of not less than sixty years so as to secure to landholders the full henefits of their own unprovements.

RESOLUTION III.

Poverty of India.

Resolved—That this Congress concurring in the views set forth in previous Congresses, affirms

That fully fifty millions of the population a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miscrabile existence on the verge of starvation, and that in every decade, several millious actually persons by starvation.

And humbly prees, once more, that unmediate steps be taken to remedy this

RESOLUTION IV

Secretary of State a Council Resolved.—That this Congress considers the Abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, as at present constituted, the necessary preliminary to all other reforms, and singgests that in its place a Standing Communities of Mambers of the House of Communi be abnorated

RESOLUTION V.

Financial Enquiry Resolved—that this Congress, while thanking Her Vagesty's Government for the promise they have made to appoint a Select Committee of Vembers of Parliament to enquire into the financial expenditure of India, regards an enquiry with so limited a scope as inadequate, and is of opinion that if the enquiry is to hear any practical fruit it must include an enquiry into the ability of the Indian people to hear their existing financial birdens and into the financial relations, between India and the United Kingdom

RESOLUTION VI

Simultaneous Fxsminstions Resolved—(a) That this Congress expresses its deep sense of disappointment at the despated of the Secretary of State supporting the views of the Government of India on the question of Simultaneous Examinations, and this Congress hereby places on record the respectful but firm protest against the despatch, as among other things, introducing a new pranciple inconsistent with the Charter Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of the Queen of 1st November 1858 (the solemn pledges contained in which the Secretary of Stateand the Covernment of India now seek to repudiate) by creating a disability founded upon race, for the despatch lays down that a minimum of European officials in the Covernment Service is indispensable.

- (b) That in the opinion of this Congress the creation of the Provincial service is no estisfactory or permanent solution of the problem, as this service, constituted as it is a fore-cent, falls short of the legitimate appriations of the people, and the interests of the subordunate service will not auffer by the concession of Simultaneous it raminations.
 - (e) That no attempt has been made to make out a case against the holding of Simultaneous Framinations for the recruitment of the Eugineering, Forest, Telegraph and the higher Police Service Examinations, and the

(3)

Congress regrets to notice that the despatches of the Secretary of State, the Government of India, and the various local Governments are absolutely allent with regard to this aspect of the Resolution of the House of Commons

(d) That this Congross respectfully arges on Her Majesty's Government that the Resolution of the Honse of Commons of 2nd June 1893 on the question of Simultaneous Examinations should be speedily carried out as an act of justice to the Judian people

RESOLUTION VII.

Resolved—That this Congress views with great dissatisfaction the system of recruiting the higher Judicial Service of the country, and is of opinion that provision should be made for proper Judicial training being given to persons who are appointed to the post of District and Sessions Judge, and that the higher Judicial Service in Bengal, the N W P and Oudh, Rombay and Madras, and the Judicial Service generally in other parts of the country, should be more largely recruited from the legal profession than is now the case

Judicial Sarvice.

RESOLUTION VIII

Resolved—(a) That this Congress is of omnion that the present constitution of the Higher Oivil Medical Service is anomalous, indefensible in principle, injurious in its working, and unnecessarily costly that the time has arrived when in the interests of Public Medical Education, and the advancement of Medical Service and of scientific work in the country, as also in the cause of economic administration, the Civil Medical Service of India should be reconstructed on the basis of each service in other civilized

Medical Service,

(b) That, the very unsatisfactory position and prospects of Members of the Subordinate Overl Medical Service (Assistant Surgeons and Civil Hospital Assistants) compared with members of similar standing in other departments of the Public Service, require thorough investigation and redress, and pray that Government will great for the purpose an open enquiry by a mixed Commission of official and non official members;

countries, wholly detached from and independent of the Military Service.

(c) That whilst this Congress views with existantian the desire of the Imperial Government to reorganise the Obermeal Analysis's department with a view to its administration as an independent scientific department, it earnestly hopes that Government will not fail to recognise the responsible and mentiorious work of Assistant, or as they in reality are, Covernment Chemical Analyses and place them on the footing of Specialise.

RESOLUTION IX

Resolved—(a) That this Congress in concurrence with the preceding Congresses, considers that the creation of a Legislative Council for the Province of the Punjab is an absolute necessity for the good Government of that Province, and having regard to the fact that a Legislative Council has been created for the N W Provinces, urges that no time be lost in creating such a Council for the Punjab

Legislative Council⁸

(b) That this Congress, in concurrence with the preceding Congress, is of opinion that the rules now in force under the Indian Councils Act of 1892

are materially defective, and prays that His Excellency the Viscory in Council will be pleased to have fresh rules framed in a liberal spirit, with a view to a better working of the Act, and suited to the conditions and recompressing of each Propuse.

RESOLUTION X

Vote of Sympathy with Roysl Family of Mysore Resolved —That this Congress wishes to express its respectful condolence and sympathy with the Boyal family of Mysore in their recent said and sudden bereavement, and at the same time to testify to it, neep sense of the loss which has been sustained in the death of the Maharayah of Mysore, not only by the State over which he ruled with such wisdom, ability and beneficence, but also by all the Indian peoples, to whom his constitutional reign was at once a vindication of their political capacity, an example for their active emplation, and an extract of their future political liberties

RESOLUTION XI

Trial by Jury

Resolved—(a) flat, in the opinion of this Congress, the time has now arrived when the system of trial by Jury may be eafely extended, in cases triable by Sessions Courts, to many parts of the country where it is not at present in force.

- (b) That, in the opinion of this Congress, the innovation made in 1872 in the system of trial by Jury, depriving the verdicts of Juriese of all finality, has proved superious to the country, and that the powers, then, for the first time, vested in Sessions Judges and High Courts, of setting aside verdicts of acquital, should be at once withdrawn.
- (c) That in the opinion of this Congress it is extremely desirable that the power at present vested in Government to appeal against acquittuls be talen away.

RESOLUTION XII

Separation of Judicial and Fxecutive FunctionsResolved—I hat this Congress having till now vinily appealed for many successive years to the Government of India, and also to the Secretary of State, to remove one of the gravord defects in the system of administration and one fraught with incalcable oppression to all classes of people throughout the country, and having noted with satisfaction, the admission of the error by the order of the end by two former Secretaries of State (Lord Kimberley and Lord Cross), and being of opinion that the reform is thoroughly practicable, as has been shown by Mesers R. C. Dutt, St. M. Ghoes and P. St. Mehla, entries the Government of India to direct the immediate appenitment in each province of a Committee (one-liad it least of whose members shall be non-official natives of folia, qualified by education and experience in the workings of various Courts to deal with the question) to prepare a scheme for the complete separation of all Jadicial and Executive functions in their own province with an little additional cost to the Sixte as may be practicable, and the submession of such schemes, with the opinions of the secretal Government the reaget and the

RESOLUTION XIII

The Panyab Chief Court

b Chief Resolved—I has this Congress re-affirms the opinion of the preceding Congress
that the time has now come to raise the status of the Chief Court of the Punjab to that of a
Chartered High Court in the interests of the administration of justice in this Province.

RESOLUTION XIV

Resolved-That having regard to the fact that the embarrassed condition of the finances of the country has been giving cause for grave anxiety for some years past, this Congress records its firm conviction that the only remedy for the present state of things is a material curtailment in the expenditure on the Army Services and other Military Expenditure, Home Charges, and the cost of Civil Administration, and in view of the proposed appointment of a Parliamentary Committee to investigate the subject this Congress strongly recommends that the Standing Congress Committees of the several Presidencies and Provinces should, so far as practicable, make arrangements to send to England at least one well qualified delegate from each Presidency or Province to nrge such reduction before the Committee.

Military and Civil Expendi tn/e

RESOLUTION XV

Resolved.—That this Congress is emphatically of opinion that it is inexpedient Public Education in the present state of education in the country that Government grants for higher education should in any way he withdrawn, and, concurring with previous Congresses, affirms in the most emphatic manner the importance of increasing public expenditure on all branches of ducation and the expediency of establishing Technical Schools and Colleges

RESOLUTION XVI

Resolved-That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocat

Omnihus Reso lutida

- (a) The reduction of the Salt duty by at least the amount of its latest enhancement ,
- (b) The raising of the Income-Tax taxable minimum from five handred to one thousand Rupees ,
- (c) The persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial adminis trations to induce them to carry out in its integrity the excise policy enunciated in paragraphs 103, 104, 105, of the Despatch published in the Gazette of India of March 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of local option in the case of all villages ,
- (d) The introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persons in warrant cases to demand that instead of heing tried by the Magnetrate they may be commutted to the Court of Seesions.
- (e) The fundamental reform of the Police Administration by a reduction in the numbers and an increase in the salaries and the qualifications of the lower grades, and their far more careful enlistment, and by the selection for the higher posts of gentlemen of higher capacities, more in touch with the respectable portions of the community, and less addicted to military pretensions, than the majority of existing Deputy Inspectors General, Superin tendents and Assistant Superintendents of Police are at present.
- (f) A modification of the rules nuder the Arms Act so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to, India without distinction of creed, caste, or colour, to ensure the liberal concession of licences wherever wild animals habitually destroy.human life, cattle, or crops, and to make all heences, granted under the revised rules, of life long tenuré, revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the Provincial inrisdiction in which they are issued ,
- (g) The establishment of Military Colleges in India, whereat, natives of India, as defined by statute, may be educated and trained for a military career, as z

Commissioned or non Commissioned officers (according to capacity and qualifications) in the Indian army

- (h) The organizing throughout the more warlike races of the empire of a system of militia service .
- (s) The authorizing and atimulating of a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amonest the neople of India
- (i) The discontinuance of the Fxchauge Compensation allowance granted to un domiciled European and Furasian employees of Government, involving an annual expenditure of over a crore of rupees while the Exchenner is in a condition of chronic embarrassment
- (h) The giving effect to the Report of the Parliamentary members of the India Office Committee on the subject of the Rules. Orders, and Practices in Indian Cantonments, with regard to Prostitution and contagious disease. and the endorsing of their conclusions .-
 - (1) That the system and incidental practices described in that Report. and the estatory rules, so far as they nuthorized or permitted the same, did not necord with the plain meaning and Intention of the Resolution of the Honse of Commons of June 5th, 1858 . and
 - (ii) That the only effective method of preventing these systematic maloractices is by express legislation

RESOLUTION XVII

Proposoi further powers of Dis enet Manatrates

Resolved-lhat this Congress hereby suppowers its President to convey to the Government of India its opinion that the powers proposed to be conferred on District Magis trates, by amendments and additions to section 15 of Polico Act V of 1861, with respect to the levy of the costs of punitive police and of granting compensation, are of a most arbitrary. dangerous, and unprecedented character

RESOLUTION XVIII

Forest Manages ment

Resolved-That this Congress records its deep-felt gratitude to the Government of india for its circular resolution No 22/F, published in the Supplement to the Gazette of India, dated 20th October 1894, and 114 high appreciation of the generous principle, which it enunciates, of subordinating fiscal interests to the reeds and agricultural interests of the ryot population in the management of forests

And would further represent that in I wests falling under classes 3 and 4 of the said resolutions, fuel, gruing concessions, fedder, small timber for building bouses and making agricultural implements, edible fors t products, &c., may be granted free of charge in all eases, under such restrictions as to quantity, &c , as the Government may deem proper , and that wherever hardship may be felt, under present conditions, the policy of the said Resolu tion may be carried out with reference to existing Forest areas, and the existing Reserve boundaries so adjusted as to leave a sufficiently large margin to facilitate the enjoyment by the agricultural population of their communal rights without molestation and annoyance by the minor subordinates of the Department

RESOLUTION XIX

laberty of the Press

Notification of 25th June 1891 in the nuder British administration in Nat

Resolved-That this Congress, bear of opinion that the Covernment of India gagging the Press in territories arbitrary, and mischievous in its nature, and opposed to sound statesmanship and to the liberty of the people, most respectfully enters its combatic protest against the same and entreats its cancellation without delay

RESOLUTION XX

Resolved—That this Congress views with apprehension the arbitrary policy of the Government of India with regard to the imposition of water-cess, introducing as it does a disturbing element in taxation, and suggests that the imposition of the said cess be regulated by certain defined principles affording security to the rights of landowners and of persons investing money in land

Water-cess

RESOLUTION XXI

Resolved—that the Congress anestly entreats Her Majesty's Government to I grant the prayer of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, resident in the South African Colonies, by twomer the Bill of the Colonial Covernment desofranchising them

Indian Colonists in South Africa

RESOLUTION XXII

Resolved—That a deputation consisting of the following genilemen he appointed for the purpose of presenting Resolutions numbered 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21 to list Excellency Lord Lign, and that the British Committee of the National Congress be requested to arrange a similar deputation to writt upon the Secretary of State for India in London.

Deputations to Lord Eigin and Mr Fowler

From Bengal and Behar — His Highness the Maharajah Bahadur of Durhbauga', Sir Romash Chunder Mitter, Kt., The Honorable Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, The Honorable Mr. Surrendra Nath Bauerjea, Mr. J. Ghosal, Babu Saligram Sing, Mr. Shnrefuddin, Rai Jotendranath Chaudhuri and Babu. Bolkunt Nath Sen

I rom the North-West Provinces —The Honorable Rajah Rampal Singh and The Honorable Baboo Charoo Chandra Mitter

From Oudh -Sheikh Rajab Hussein Khan, Mr Hamid Ali Khan and Baboo Gokal Chand

I rom the Punjab —Sirdar Dayal Sing Majitbia, Baboo Kali Prosonno Roy, Mr Juseawala, Shaik Umar Buksh, Lala Murluthar and Bakshi Jaishi Ram

From Bombay -The Honorable Mr P M Mehta, C I E

From the Central Provinces —The Honorable Mr. G. M. Chitnavis and Rai. Bahadur. C. Naraiuswami Naidu

Fror. Poona — Ilao Bahidar V M Bhide, Mr S B Bhate, Mr N B Mule aud Mr P L Nagpurkar

From Bergy - Ran Saheb Dearso Vingsek

From Wadra: - Manivikram Rajah of Cabcut, The Honorable Mr Sabapathy Mudahar, Rai Bahadur P Ansuda Charlu and Mr G Suhramania Iyer"

RESOLUTION XXIII

Resolved—that a sum of Rs 60,000 be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and the cost of the Congress publication, "India," and that the several circles do contribute as arranged, either now, or hereafter in Commuttee, for the year 1893.

British Commistee Grant

RESOLUTION XXIV

Resolved.—That this Congress here by tenders its most grateful thanks to bir W Wedderburn and the other members of the British Congress Committee for the services rendered by them to India during the present year

Vote of Thanks to British Com mittee

RESOLUTION XXV

Appointment of General Secre Resolved.—That this Congress teappoints Mr. A. O. Hume, C. B., to be its General Secretary for the enging year.

tary

RESOLUTION XXVI

Meeting Place of XIth Congress Resolved-That the Eleventh Indian National Congress do assemble on such dig after Christmas day, 1895, as may be later determined upon at Poons

RESOLUTION XXVII

Constitution of Congress Resolved—that this Congress is of opinion that the time has come when the constitution of the Congress should be settled and rules and regulations had down as to the number of Delegates their qualifications, the localities for assemblage, and the like, and with this view the Congress requests the Standing Congress Committee of Poons to draw up draft rules and circulate them among the different Standing Congress Committee, for their report these reports, togethor with the draft rules and the report thereon to be laid before the next Congress for its consideration

ALFRED WERR.

President of the Tenth Indian National Congress

Madras, 29th December, 1894

DETAILED

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

TENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

HELD AT

MADRAS,

On the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th of December, 1894.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The first atting of the Congress commenced at 2 30 rm on Wednesday, the 20th December, 1894, when the Honorable Mr P Rungrah Nauda, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates, and —

First Day.

MY RECTHER DELEGATES AND GENTLEMEN,

On behalf of the Reception Committee of the Teuth Indian National Congress and on behalf of the Indian community of Southern India generally, I offer you my most cordial greetings and welcome you to our city

Chairman of Reception Committee's Address.

Soven years ago when Madras had the privilege of witnessing the third Session of the Congress, the position that I now so unworthly fill was filled by that illustrous Indian Statesman, the late Rajah by T Madhara Row, a carl, who described the Congress as the "soundest triumph of British administration and a crown of glory to the British nation" and whose death and that of Pandit Ayodhyanath and other conspicuous figures in our risks have reacted places not yet adequately filled. But prirots and statesmen have to pay the debt of nature, and what we live olest in individual strength we hope we have been able to make good by increased intensity and extent of natural feeling. Our organization in every part of the country has improved in influence and soldarity, it has extended to orders of society below the middle class, his consed the attention of our British fillow subjects, and, what is more significant of its influence, has provoked the entry and anger of a certain section of the Anglo-Indian community

In the vast concentre of people which we behold assembled under this beautiful pasition, in the thousand and more delegates of position and rank come from the North and Sonth and I set and West of this great Continent, in the festiving py that the celebration of this national occasion communicates at this moment to almost every house in this city, in the hundreds of meetings attended by thousands of people that have been held all over couth India during the last six months, held not in cities and towns merely but even in villages and hamlets, to further the national cause, and in the numberless small and large channels through which money has flowed into the Congress collers, a system of collection from house to house having been universally adopted by our Committees, by which the prace and peakunt, the merchant and trader, the petry artists and labourer, have been brought under contribution—

Chairman of Reception Com mittee's Address

you will see in all these, Gentlemen, the complete falsification of malicious predictions and the frustration of impotent envy, as well as the gradual maturing of the consummation of the forces which this movement embodies and attests, and which bind us all together in common fellow feeling and in common devotion to our revered sovereign

The political horizon of the educated Indian citizen is no longer his village or district, not even the capital city of his province, but it is now the whole Indian continent a substitution which is so favourable to the growth of enlightened natriotism. Whether this process of the enlargement of our pointical vision will lead at length to a welding into a united and punfied whole of the different sections of the population, as we hope and believe it will, or whether the consummation will be, as some of our well wishers ascert. a federal and peaceful association of them all is a question which must be left to the future to solve. As a practical body, as a movement having certuin tangible and immediate ends in view and striving to supply wants actually felt, and as an enterprise carefully steering clear of all visionary and merely sentimental objects at is not the business of the Congress to devote itself to ame which are not within its reach and which will more properly engage the efforts of nosterity Not is it our object to disregard the law of continuity in evolution, to break from old moornes, and to launch into a work of destruction and reconstruction. We most emphatically repudiate therefore that visionary and revolutionary character with which our enemies have endowed our movement, and claim for it a thoroughly practical and legitimate character, and a character sincerely loyal to all those elements in the British rule which are conservative as well as progressive

(11)

the Secretary of State for India for the time be ng—until then the people of this country will trike their stand on that most cherished charter of theirs and demand with confidence and determination the fulfillment of their legitimate, loyal and honourable aspirations.

First Day.

Chairman of
Reception Com

mittee's Address

We may derive satisfaction bowever from the behef that this attempt to behitle the importance of the Proclamation is confined to those Englishmen who are interested in the perpetuation of the present administrative system, and that the English nation, as a whole, including the responsible guardians of their imperial interests, will strongly disapprove of the attempt to uphold the ascendancy of a limited class of Her Varesty's subjects in disregard of her own deliberate and repeated pledges and of the contentment and prosperity of the Indian people so truly and dearly loved by her But to convince the English people that such an attempt is being made and that the selfishness of the burraneracy is the most dangerous enemy of the British Indian Empire, is our chief difficulty Yes Gentlemen, the Indian bureaucracy is selfish. I say that most debberately, and the history of the list 30 years is my justification for saving so It is for this reason that we have thought it necessary to strengthen our organization in England and to educate public opinion, there as well as to continue with unabated vigour and enthusiasm our work in this country. As was to be expected, this policy has borne fruit Wo have accured the sympathy of a large number of Members of Parliament while the lengthsh press no longer affects atlent contempt, although misrepresentation as well as sympathy distinguishes its criticisms. It behaves us therefore, Gentlemen, to strengthen as much as possible the hands of the British Congress Committee and of our other friends We are very anxious to draw closer the tie of sympathy between us and our English friends and range greater interest in that country on behalf of our movement. It was this aspect of the situation that induced us to invite a member of Parliament to a reside over our deliber hirons, and on our having been able to secure you, Su-Mr Alfred Webb through your trails patriotic and condescending fellow feeling, we have every reason to congratulate ourselves Through you we are confident of enlisting the sympathy of a very important section of the House of Commons as well as of those true sons of Britain whose generosity and senso of justice are, like their love of freedoin, of world wide celebrity

Chairman of Reception Com

To abuse the opponent is a favourite form of argument with a certain description of people, and failing to meet us with fair reasoning or on the ground of justice or political wisdom, the opponents of the Congress, that is, of educated Indians, call us disloyal and attribute to us revolutionary designs Gentlemen, with mad men and with people who talk wildly under the exciting sense of losing interests, we have no concern If there he any reasonable persons amongst our opponents. I should like to take them into my confidence and ask them why they think we are disloyal If a rule which has established peace, order and security in the country, which administers inside as impartially as human tribunals can do, which constantly stamulates material prosperity, which has conferred on the people the prestimable blessing of Fducation, liberty of conscience and freedom of discussion, and of which, indeed, the possibilities for fature good are even greater than what has actually heen done in the past-if such a rule cannot excite the loval attachment of the people. I am at a loss to know what kind of rale may be expected to excits their loyalty Gentle men the fact m, the persons that charge us with disloyalty are the victims of their own guilty conscience, of some evil thought concerled in their minds, and it is only such persons that see disloyalty everywhere, and like Uncheth, perceive a dagger in the air Nor is it anything but the most inderons absurdity to see disloyalty in political agritation conducted on strictly constitutional lines and in a spirit of confidence in the rulers. What is the good of the education and freedom that have been vouchsifed to us if we do not make use of them for our own improvement. We have no desire but to live on terms of the utmost amity and regard with our Auglo Indian fellow subjects We feel we want their emdance and then sympathy which, whenever shown, we have most sincerely and unstantingly regiprocated

At no time were our best efforts more needed than they are now Our country is passing through a period of crisis, which crisis will endure, I am afraid, in a more or less acute form, until India survives her present transition state and finds its fit place in the international system of the world. Not only the principles of Government, but the system of trade and industry, the provision for the security of the country, and the burden of the taxpayer himself, no longer depend on the needs and capacity of the country, but on the politics of Europe, and regard oring had to India's mahility to hear the strain of this anoma lons relation and to her limited resources, it behaves all responsible for her well heing to exercise the utmost care to husband and develop carefully those resources and save the country from possible disaster An absentee Government involves a frightful drain on the country's financial resources, an overgrown military system absorbs one third of the net revenue, the free trade principles thrust upon us have destroyed the old industries, the population has grown in advance of the food supply, and poverty is increasing from year to year This is not all There is a growing reluctance on the part of the Government to grapple with the problems arising from these evils, to do strict justice to the people whenever their interests clash with those of the ruling country, and to meet public opinion in a spirit of sympathy and confidence We have also to reckon with a new evil that is rapidly coming to the front and threatens serious results I mean, the evil of a hostile Anglo Indian opinion which, powerful as it must always be, is ceasing more and more to represent that of the responsible official class, but echoes to an increasing extent the self interest, the prejudices and passing feelings of those Englishmen who come here merely to earn their livelihood, who have no permanent stake in the country, and whose opinions on Indian matters do not always possess, for their soundness, the guarantee of education, enlightened patriotism, or past tradition and future fame I need not say that this change in the constitution of Angle Indian opinion has made itself rather inconveniently manifest of late, and I am not sure that it has not controlled the decisions even of the Government Consequently, discontent, irritation and a certain restlessness have seized the people, and the feeling between the ruling and ruled communities is not all that is desirable Gentlemen, these are some of the evils of the (13)

present situation, and I am confident that the issue of om deliberations will show a due estimate of these evils and will suggest adequate and practical remedies

Chairman of Reception Committees Address.

There has been, indeed, a good deal of disappointment. The decision of the Secretary of State for India on the Simultaneous Examinations Question and the extraordinary grounds on which that decision is based, have shaken our confidence in the liberal professions of the party in power. Indeed nothing can be more disheartening than that a Resolution of the House of Commons should be contemptiously set sade by the Indian bureaucracy. The scheme of the Provincial Civil Service has proved an extremely unsatisfactory measure. The reformed Legislative Councils have failed to forms an effective and adequate means of obtaining official recognition for non-official public opinion. The system of criminal administration has not been improved. Our demand for a Parliamentary inquiry into the affairs of our country, though it was about to be granted in 1834, has since been rejected as unpractical and no desirable. No steps have been taken to reduce the excessive military and civil expenditure of Government. And, lastly, Indian public opinion has failed to prevent the appropriation of over a coore of Rupees for a virtual increase in the salaries of the Government's European employees.

Still, by the side of these disappointments is the encouraging fact that our aims and demands are now known and approved to a wider extent by public opinion in the United Kingdom as well as in India, and that in regard to some particular matters the Government have moved sympathetically An influential party of members of Parliament pledged to sympathy with our aspirations-if not to an actual support of our particular demandshas been organized. Our British Committee has been strengthened and has been able to do botter and more work. And even such a typical bureaucrat as Sir Auckland Colvin, not to speak of Sir David Barbour and Mr Samuel Laing has admitted that the chief cause of all the financial wees of the Indian Government is to be traced more to the system. of Government than to a depreciated currency, or to the other temporary causes, in which official timidity, in the face of large and inconvenient problems, is apt to take shalter. How 14 it, may I ask, Gentleman, that it took mine years of ceaseless agitation by the Congress before the financial advisers of our Government could muster up conrage to admit this facta fact which was but too patent to all disinterested minds! Let all who will, affect contempt for us-it is snough if we are able to convert our officials as we have been able to convert Sir Anckland Colvin and Sir David Barbour

conservatism and uninspiring recollections of the past, refuses to change, neglects national consolidation and rejects the suggestions of modern needs, and whose leaders are men regarding individual fortunes as of greater account than the interests and honor of the commonwealth

First Day

Chairman of Reception Com mittees Address

Gentlemen, I have detained you too long. But before concluding I should like to take this opportunity of tendering, on behalf of the Reception Committee, my most heartfelt thanks to Colonel G. M. J. Moore, of it, the Privident of the Vadris Municipality, for the readness with which he has rendered help to our Committee in providing the necessary comforts for the delegates in making the required synitary urrangements in the various camps, and in securing their convenience in various other ways, and, in whort for his not having been content with doing what a President of the local corporation might be ordurally expected to do

Gontlemen, this is a moment when we all feel that a great dream, a dream which in other times and places rulers and statesmen bave dreamed in vin—the dierm of the Unity of the Indian people—is about to be realized. At such a moment nothing but good deas and pure apprations occupy our minds, and the heart overflows with gennine goodwill and brotherly feeling. In the name of those who have co operated in the organization of this Congress in the name of the people of Madrias and Southern India generally, I once more offer you my most cordial greetings. We receive you with open arms and extend to you the right hand of fellowship for having so kindly and so condescendingly responded to our invitation. (Lond Cheers)

The Honorable Mr P Rungian Naide, again rising - Now, Gentlemen, it is left for you to select your President and proceed with the basiness of the Congress

RAYA SIT SAYALAI RAMASAWAI MUDELLIAE —Geatlemen, it gives me immense pleasure to more the first proposition for your acceptance it is one that needs no discussion or debate. This wast concearse of the Indian people, assembled from all parts of this great empire to deliberate on questions of the deepest interest to its welfare and happiness, requires the guidance of mature experience and wast knowledge for the successful termination of its proceedings. The methods of deliberation and representation adopted by the people of this country are those most familiar to our ribers, and it is but meet and proper that we should from time to time place correlives under the guidance of eniment ince versed in the methods and procedure of that angust assembly which is pre-eminently the model for imitation by all the nations of the world, the British Parliament. (Cheers)

In our choice of a President to rule this great assembly we shall also be giving practical testimony of our anxious desire to unite in the closest bonds of union and fellow-hip with our western brethren, under whose beings guidance an all vive and beneficent Providence has placed us (Cheers)

I have therefore to propose the name of one who has evanced a very deep concern for the welfare of the people of this country, and has always made the cause of the masses the chief aim of his life, and who, in his own words, is 'the soldier in political warfare ready to go to any land whenever ordered" (Cleers)

With the firm conviction that my proposal will be accorded a very warm and enthusiastic reception by men assembled from all corners of this great empire representing the divirue castes and creeds that inhabit this land I propose for your unanmous acceptance the quiet and unostentations member for Wist Waterford, We Alfred With (Cleers)

Three hearty Cheers were then given for Mr Alfred Webb, M P

RAIA RARRAL Strone—Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in seconding this proposition and I have, in doing so, to point out so you two very momentons and noteworthy things. They are those the Congress which showed such weakness in its beginning has

Elect on cf President First Day I lection of Prost lant

heen slowly and surely progressing so as to enter into the sympathy of Fughsh gentlemen. (Hear, hear, and Cleers) Up to this time we have had ten sittings, inclusive of the one in which we are met here, and we see that if half the number of meetings has been presided over by Indians, the other half has been presided over by Englishmen (Cheers), including my karnel friend Mr Dadabhai Nacron. (Lond and continued Cheers) because he is naturalised and a member of Parliament The other point I should like to hring to your notice is this Our "inicroscopic minority" has now so grown that it rules India from Cape Comorin up to the range of the Himalavas (Cheers)

If Lord Dufferin had been a witness here to day, he would have withdrawn his words on the spot I have to an nothing more, but to second the resolution, which is a very pleasant duty for me to perform (Cheers)

The Honorable Mr P Rungian Naidu -Gentlemen, it is my duty to put it to the vote, and I hope all of you will vote for it by acclamation

The motion was carried with cuthusiastic cheering

Mr Alferd Wess, who was received with loud and prolonged cheers, the whole assembly rising to their feet, then took the Chair

Ters PRESIDENT -

Descrient s Address

FRIENDS AND FELLOW SUBJECTS,-You call me to the presidency of the tenth meeting of the Indian Actional Congress Thanking jon for the honour, I proceed to discharge the duties of the post under a sense of its privileges and responsibilities

The objects of these Congresses cannot be better stated than in the words of your first President -"The promotion of personal in imacy and friendship amongst all the more earnest workers in [your] country's cause in all parts of the Empire, the eradication, by direct friendly intercourse, of all possible race, creed, or national prejudices amongst all lovers of [your] country, and the faller development and consolidation of those sentiments of national unity that had their origin in [conr] Lord Ripon's ever memorable reign, the authoritative record, after this has been carefully elicited by the fullest discussion, of the matured opinions of the educated classes in India on some of the more important and press ing of the social questions of the day, the determination of the lines upon and the methods by which, during the next twelve months, it is desirable for native politicians to labour in the public interests"

The ends you have in view are similar to those of politicians in other quarters of the globa The difficulties before you are, however, greater Flowhere politicians lave to deal principally with homo-encous populations, to whom, at least in theory, equal political rights may at once be accorded , you have largely to work for those who have yet to pass through a long process of assumilation and elevation. All the greater necessity that in assemblages such as this you should set yourselves to the task. All the greater necessity that a deaf ear should be turned to doctrines of deepsir The question is not concerning the difficulties, but whether or not the difficulties are to be faced, and if to be faced, the sooner the better it is alone by and through organizations such as yours that they can be faced

It is at the same time necessary to bear in mind that you stand at the most critical period of a people's history Your populations, heretofore supine, are awakening to conscious ness and new hopes whilst they may not fully as yet have acquired habits of self restraint and sentiments of responsibility Mistakes are certain to be made, and are sure to be attributed by opponents not to their tree source-former conditions, but to the awakening, the ennobling process itself. We must be prepared to meet misrepresentations and calumny. We must take heed that in our leading we give in just cause for accusation

You have met at Bombar twice at Calcutts twice, at Allshabid twice, at Nagpur, at Labore, you now meet at Madras for the second time. But sevenit-two representatives attended your first assembly. The numbers gradually increased to over 1,800 at Bombay, since which meeting they have, on your own motion, for concentration of effectiveness, been restricted to about 1,000. Your proceedings have been conducted with dignity, fairness, contresy, and fact.

President's

Your Presidents hitherto have been distinguished men, mainly, as was right, from amongst your own people, and representing, as they should, some of the principal reces and religions of India Most eminent amongst these Presidents was Dadabhai Naorou, not only because of his great abilities and his life tong services to his country, but because of the position he occupies as your only Native representative in the Imperial Parliament. The electors of Finsbury have done themselves bonour in returning him. As to your other native Presidents, the ability of their addresses, and the manner in which they conducted your proceedings, showed their fitness for the trusts confided to them. The lamented George Yule of Calcutta, almost one of yourselves, presided at your Fourth Coogress Sir William Wedderhurn conducted the fifth I have styled Mr. Naoron your only Natice representative in the Imperial Parliament In Sir William Wedderburn you have another representative equalic zealous and devoted -one of the faithful few whose clear conceptions of equality and instice have been unobscured by long official service. There is another name which although not on the list of your Presidents, cannot be omitted in recalling, however slightly, your past proceodings-that of Charles Bradlangh, "the friend and champion of India." He attended and addressed your Fifth Congress The report of the Sixth is formally dedicated to his memory You never lost a better or nn abler friend Few men were ever so sincerely mourned by a larger proportion of the human rice

Having ilrendy placed in the chair two Scotchmen, you have now chosen an Irishman Donhtless, after a becoming interval with native Presidents, you will call an Englishman My nationality is the principal ground for my having been selected. I have none of the brilliant qualifications of my predecessors On your invitation I take the position that was intended for a great fellow countryman of my own However, I do not question the fitness of your choice, for I am representative in several respects. I was nurtured in the conflict against American slavery In the words of William Ltoyd Garrison, the founder of that movement, "My country is the world, my countrymen are all mankind" To aid in the elevation of my native laud has been the endeavour of my riper years. In the words of Daniel O'Connell, "My sympathies are not confined to my own green island I am a friend to enal and religious liberty all over the world " I hate tyranny and oppression wherever practised more especially if practised by my own Government, for then I am in a measure responsible I have felt the butterness of subjection in my own country. I am a member of the Irish Parliamentary Party I am one of the Indian Parliamentary Committee I am a Dissenter, proud of the struggles of my Quaker forefathers for freedom of thought and action a Protestant returned by a Catholic constituency-a Protestant living in a Catholic country. testifying against craven fears of a return to obsolete religious bitterness and intolerance-fears in your country and in mine worked apon to impede the progress of liberty

To be placed in this chair is the highest bonour to which I can ever aspire

That I have not resided in India is no disquishfication. Free peoples are within their own borders the best judges of their own affairs. But where are concerned the interests of a large population governed by a dominant class, the members of that class, whose apparent interests he in a continuance of that domination, cunnot as a rale judge fairly. There are rare exceptions, such as Sir William Wed terham has generally speaking their vision is obscured by prejudices. West tadian staters would never have been ab listed by West Indian planters, nor American alaxery by Southern White. Catholics would never have

First Day
President's
Aldress.

been emancipated in Ireland, the Charch would not have been directablished, or the franchise extended, by that class which was directly interested in the continuance of existing in the

Nothing in what I have said or intend to say must however be taken to imply a want of appreciation of the christer and services of numbers of my fellow-citizens, whose hres have been and are hong given to the administration and government of India. They were doubtle s at first attracted to the service solely as a career in life But residence here, ym pathy with your people, and a sense of duty, rapidly impel to higher motives. They become sincerely auxious for your welfare and devoted to what they believe your highest good Never has more conscience been brought to the government of a conquered country. We here are not set against them, unless, indeed, they are determined to set themselves against is. The services of nea of their training, temper, and turn of mind may, perhaps for generations to come, h necessary They are to be honoured and respected in their sphere. But they must not impede or piers at the gradual application to the government of this country of principles other than those laid down by statemen of the first rank fully half a century ago. I might perhaps have been more affected than I have been by the attitude and language of many of them regard ing your country and your people, were it not that it is such as I have been accustome I to hear from the same class in Ireland regarding my country and my people. If the anticipations of the former regarding your expectites and your future are as fully belied as have been the antiopations of the latter regarding our expective and one future, you may rest-satisfied. Closely allied, in blood and religion, as this class in Ireland has been to us, their efforts to govern mines, in moon and economy as this cross to a failure. How much less likely is it that they can independently of Irish opinion have resulted in failure. How much less likely is it that they can succeed here without avaluing themselves of your assistance more largely than heretofore

In our efforts for reform and constitutional liberty, much will depend upon individual character and training, upon the extent is which we wisely administer the powers we
have. The legisla are not naturally better or invier than other people. They one their
success partly to high average reliability and a high sense of duty. What they personally
undertake they usually perform. Like others, they are moved by salfath considerations,
but having, in politics or administrative office once engaged for the public word, they are no
aft to neglect it for private intirests, they can rely upon each other. Lat netake pattern by
them in these respects.

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President s
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Admitting the paramount necessity for the maintenance of the unity of the Empire, we know that all questions relating to arms and the armed forces of the Crown must be treated with circumspection. We must weigh well our words and the difficulties of the situation

In Irelaud during most of my lifetime it has been a peual offence to carry arms with out a hience, and hiences are strictly guarded. In India you rest under closer restrictions. Some modification of the rules under the Arms Act is necessary, "so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to, India, without distinction of creed, caste, or colour, to ensure the liberal concession of hiences wherever wild enumals hishitially destroy human life, cattle, or erops, and to make all homomes, granted under the revised rules, of life long tenure, revocable only on proof of misses, and valid throughout the provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued." With in the prohibitions are an insult to the soil, with you, to the sace

Nothing is more striking in considering the condition of India than its poverly compared with the wealth of the Western world, especially compared with that of the United Kingdom (the riches of Great Britain are so enormous that the poverty of Ireland scarcely affects the general average). The mean annual income of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom has been estimated at £31 Hz, that of the people of India, at from Bz 20 to Rz 27. Mr. Fowler, in his ministerial statement this year, dwelt upon the comparative lightness of the burthen of Indian taxation contrasted with that of the United Kingdom, for getting that 5 per cent on an income of Rz 20 is a much heavier burthen than 71 per cent on £33. It is impossible, upon any basis of fair play to justify debiting you with so may large itoms, such as the India Office and India Office expenses, recruiting depôts, loss or exchange, and the like, which really form a portion of the British bono charges. If the maintenance of the Indian Empire is so essential to British prestige and greatness, if the honour and glory are to be Britain's, surely she, not you, should bear the beavy burthers. She does not attempt to collect estimate charges from the Colonies.

The aggregate cannual satings of the United Kingdom in the years between 1840 and 1888 have here estimated at £110,000,000, or over £300,000 a day. Such accumulations of wealth, combined with paramonous dealings with poorer peoples, are irreconcilable with real belief in the precepts of righteosanes.

The expenditure upon the Army in India, which in 1882 83 stood at Rx 18,859,000 (including Rx 17,000 for Afghanistan and Rx 1,308,000 for hegipt), had in 1893 risen by 27 per cent to Rx 23,877,000. Any advantages to be derived from this increased expenditure have not been chard in alley by Butth and by native troops. The pensions of European officers have been rused 37 per cent, of native officers only 11 per cent. Thirteen per cent more per nature spent upon the Buttsh rank and file, 4 per cent less per input upon the native-rule and file.

Nour taxes spent abroad have risen from Rr. 17,169,000 to 1882, by 31 per cent to Rr. 22,911,000 to 1892. In the former year they amounted to 23 per cent, in the latter to 25 per cent of your total expenditure. No country could permanently afford such a drain These increases are not by any means entirely due to alterations in the rate of exchange.

These starting facts demand gravn consideration east and west of Suez. Apart from a reference to the daily deteriorating condition of agriculture generally, I am not competent to speak on it is state in your presentry, but so far as all accounts go, official included, there are strong grounds to apprehend danger from the agricultural condition of the country I am aware that this problem constantly engages the attention of the Supremo Government and it is to be loped that it will take a new departure in it spokes of land revenue Mere pallattics will never do A judicious and state-manific survey of the existing situation should enable it to device a satisfa tory remedy. Whaterer action may be taken to free the impore which presently from the hands of the money lenders will go a great was to ameliorate their

condition And Government itself should modify its cast-iron system of exacting revenue at dates at which the cultivators are least prepared to discharge the State dues

We must, however, not take a gloomy view of the attention. If you have greater difficulties to contend with than we in Ireland, you will remember that your population has been increasing, whilst ones has been reduced by over 40 per cent within the past half century. Whilst you have lee-way to make up in education and material advancement, your relative progress has been and is out of all proportion to ours.

The justice of, and necessity for, adequate representation in your superior and local Councils is apparent, and naturally claims much of your attention. The administrative mutilation of the manifest intentious of Parliament in framing the Indian Councils Act is much to be deplored. I see that complaints have been made in every province where the enlarged Councils are established, that the distribution of seats for representation of the people is most unsatisfactory, and that, while some interests are over-represented, other important interests are not represented at all. This is not in accordance with the expressed views of British statesmen on both sides of the House when the Bill was discussed. Mr. Gladetone said. "I believe I am justified in looking forward, not merely to a nominal, but to a real living repre sentation of the people of India." Lord Salisbury was no less emphatic. "If we are to do it, and if it has to be done, let us do it systematically * * taking care that the machinery to be provided shall effect the purpose of giving representation, not to accidentally constituted bodies, not to small sections of the people here and there, but to the bring strength and vital forces of the whole community of India" How little have these anticipations been realized! We have here a striking instance of the extent to which administration can defeat the intentions of legislation

It is indeed almost more necessary for the contentment of a people that they should have the administration rather than the casetiment of the laws in their own hands. It is moreover desirable that judicial should, as far as possible, he separated from executive functions, and that evid and military employments in medical and other department's should not be held by the same persons. The average militiny officer, supreme in his own sphere, is of all others leavismide by his training to administed civil affairs in a sympathetic and conclitatory spirit. And it has been well said "The frime of mind necessars for a judge are different. Executive officers ought to mix freely with the people, there ought to try to make friends with them, they ought to see this, and they ought to see that A judge, on the contrary, ought to shou his cars against every lining except that which comes be fore linin in court. But an executive officer has, as such, to learn everything and to do everything, and when he comes upon the bench, ho is expected to direct his mind of whatever he has heard elsewhere. Even the best officer of Government is after all a human being."

You have properly protested against the curtailment of your rights regarding trial by jury. Whether we compare the number of consections before and since the institution of the system their views ago or the state of afform a district where it was not established with that where it was exhibished, there appears nothing to justify recent changes. Official sometimes forget that the general attitude of the people towards the law is of more concequence than the number of malefactors sentenced. It is in old principle of Figlish jurisprudence it at it is better that many guilty should escape than that one innocent was absolid suffer. Love of law, the conception that it is for the good of all—so deeply implanted in the hearts of sort reign proples, who have been able to mould it to their will—is naturally a plant of allow growth with peoples less favoured.

Regarding criminal procedure in India, the public conscience at home has been from time to time outraged by instances that have reached us of what appeared to be undue

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partiality towards Europeans A number of such cases have been well summed up in a hook by Ram Gopal Sanyal recently published in Calentia The Dum Dum and the Guntakal cases appeared to many of as in Parliament disastrans miscarriages of justice, detrimental to British prestige, the outcome of that hrotal contempt for your people which is undapply still characteristic of many ignorant and prejudiced Europeans, and the product of that race hatred which it ought to be the Government's first care to stamp out Even the appearance or suspicion of judging the efficiency of magistrates and police by their success in securing convictions should be avoided. Wo all hope that the Government of India, whese desire for impartiality and justice we all admit, is keenly abre to these evils, and will try its best to consider favourably your representations on the subject. I trust that ere long they may be removed

Meanwhile let us not embitter our lives or weaken our energies for practical work.

Human pastice is after all fallble justice. We all fall short where our own interests are concerned! Let what we believe to be injustice by others impel us to higher standards, to nobler ideals of life, to wider charity and forgiveness, to deeper trust in an Omniscience that will yet right every wrong and wipe the tear from every eye.

We reported at the adoption of Mr. Paal's motion regarding Simultaneous Examinations, still more at the frank spirit in which it appeared to have been accepted by the Government. We thought it a great step forward—u solid advantage gained. We have been correspondingly disappointed by the extent to which official coinsels have since prevailed, oven to the reversal by a Laberal Calimet of the selems decision them arrived at. Such vacilitation to the decision that weaken the power of the Hones of Commons. We have lately seen it instanced as a reason why the Upper Chamber should properly set at naught the resolution of the Lower. When public opinion has accurated the acceptance by the House of such a great principle, it has a right to counsider its work accomplished. I but vious the pain which this proceeding bas caused to many of the most ardent supporters of the Government.

Upon the other hand, few actions of the present Government are mere indicative of the progress of liberal ideas than the recent convention with Japan for the abelition of consular pureliction. This convention may not be without hopsful significance regarding your future. How comest that powers over British citizens which it is considered inexpedient to accord to Indian judges trained in British law, have freely, and almost without comment, been granted to judges in Japan?

The education of the people claims the first attention of Government now a-days. I regret that in your case the expenditure thereupon hears such a small proportion to that for military purposes. We must, however, individually bear in mind—at least with usin the United Kingdom there in need to bear in mind—this education in itself confers no special claim to employment by the Sixte Fideration fits us for life and enables us the better to use and to enjoy life. It widens our horizon. But we must not expect too much from it. It should be a blessing to all, it might easily be a curse to some, if it spoiled them for the proper discharge of the simple duties that come nearest to them.

I desire now to refer to three subjects—Drink, the Regulation of Vice, and Opium—which live more particularly interested many British frieads of India. In this connection I must contess that, as a member of a professedly Christian land, I am almost atlande to stand before you. Christian claim to earry a message of love and enlight ament to the world You and we have come together, and what have been the consequences? Have you wronged us, or have we wronged you? Iftee you for individual gain forced run and demonsilisation upon us, or have we forced them upon you? These questions carry their own answers. We owe our highest cirihation and culture origanly to the Fist. In return we have handed back some banefits, but also some of the lowest products of Western cirilization.

As to the Drink curse (lurgely introduced and widely extended by ns), there have been repeated denunciations in your dehates. It has formed the subject of a resolution at more than one Congress The spread in India of this evil is fully discussed in the debate on the "Reform in excise administration" at your Sixth and Eighth Congresses It is deplorable to hear that "people have become more addicted to drink, because it has been thought to be an adjunct of Western civilization," that "It has been left for [your] Christian rulers to love it, stimulate it, and pet it, and make money by millions of pounds out of it" In this Presidency the excise licences appear to have increased fivefold within forty years I understand that in India as a whole they have doubled within twenty years. The East India Company, estensibly at least, strove to reduce consumption Can we believe that such is the object of Government at the present day? There is scarcely a family in the United Kingdom that has not suffered from the rayages of drink. I am one of those who believe that safety only lies in complete abstinence. To many peoples our introduction of it has meant annihilation. You cannot be too much upon your guard against its insidions advances. I resolve that the attention you have given to the subject has already contributed in the Mudras Presidency alone to the closure of thousands of liquor shops. In such respects as these I have long been of the opinion that the crimes committed by society through Government against the people, are often greater and less excusable, and more disgraceful to character, than the worst crimes over committed by the people against society and against Government The former are deliberate and for reaching. In a certain sense they are without instification, and overy citizon is responsible. The latter have generally been committed by the irresponsuble few in moments of excitement

With regard to the edious Cantonment Acts your testimony has been clear and tree At Allahabad in 1888 you unauimously resolved "That this Congress, having watched with interest and sympathy the exertions that are being made in Eugland for the total shrogation of laws and rules relating to the regulation of prostitution by the State in India, places on record its appreciation of the services thus rendered to this country, and its desire to co-operate by all means in its power in the attainment of this hadable object" This must have had considerable influence with the Home Government in the changes which it has prescribed and which the Government in India is now so tardily carrying out. The history of this question is most significant from the 9th July 1887, when Lord Cross telegraphed to the Viceroy "I apprehend system is indefensible and must be condemned," till 11th August 1893, when Lord Roberts had the manimess to upologize to Mrs Andrews and Dr Kate Bushnell for having denied the accuracy of their revelations upon the subject But for the ubility and devotion of these American ladies, officials would still conceal the truth from the British public, as they managed to courerl it even from the responsible head of u responsible department. What a commentary upon Indian administration! What an armment for local representation! That system of administration is indeed faulty which admits of simply docketing, without obeying, instructions that do not meet the approval of officials It is easy, but cannot be permanent For the first time-I say it without meaning offencethe methods of the Indian administration have been fally exposed, and since they have been detected in one particular, we at home must beware of too blindly trusting them in others

To Opear I find little reference in your proceedings. It is a subject which engages the attention of many of the more thoughtful and reascentions of your freeds. There are difficulties survouring it. No doubt, we in the United Kingdom for our own purposes encouraged the are of the drug, spread its cultivation, and forced it upon China. How are we to retrace our steps. Certainly not at your expense. The decrease of the revenue from this source by 16 per cent within the past ten years is a wirning that such execute cannot permissionly be depended upon. Consideration for the rights of your Independent States complicates the profilem. I cannot here instruct discussion upon: Your business for this session is already planned and cannot be altered. However, at some time, your Inoulvidge and

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advice would be helpful to those of us in the United Kingdom, who desire to do our duty in this matter

The reforms we desire are not likely to be accomplished, your cause cannot be effectually pleaded, inthi you are satisfactorily represented alike in your Provincial Councils and in the Imperial Parliament. In proportion as each class and each interest within the United Kingdom has been enabled to make its voice beard in the Imperial Parliament, in just such proportion has that assembly heen strengthened and dignified. That strength and that dignify will undoubtedly at some period be increased by representation from the component parts of the Empire 18, as we believe it to be, one and indivisible, one indivisible, one indivisible, one indivisible, one indivisible spirit of liberty must pervade every portion of it. If all cannot eventually be raised to one level, all may equally be lowered. If absolution is necessary here, absolution will certainly tunt and ultimately undermine the fabric of English liberty. Already the workings of ascendings in India have not been without their influence in retarding steady liberal progress in the United Kingdom.

I have thus ventured, within the short time at my disposal, to lay before you my views regarding the questions that have most engaged your attention and are likely again to come up for discussion. You may the better appreciate the spirit in which I landed upon your shores and in which I shall follow your debates

We may proceed to our task with hope and confidence. Within the lifetime of a generation you have obtained what may be regarded as the first installment of reform, in the direction of the expansion and reconstruction of the Legislative Councils, which has cost other countries centuries of tool and effort. I on have every reason to be proud of what you have ochieved in other directions. You must not be cooled by temporary discouragements, by the unfaithfulness of some, the want of fasth of the many. Reform progresses lie the steady rise of the tide through many an obb and flow of the waves. Confident are we that through all storm and cloud, the sun of constitutional liberty will yet shime with pure and hemeficent effulgence upon your country. Let the your individual care to carry back from these Congresses, into every day life and every-day occupations true elevation of mind, belief in your future, and your own power to mould your future. This future depends more upor your-elves than apon any political or funcancial changes. Before all you must cultivate a spirit of generous toleration and of eberity between class and class and creed and creed

Considering the general advancement of the world, from which no portion of its surface can be permanently excluded, we have every cause for encouragement, every incentive to press forward, setting no limits to the possible material and spiritual advancement of mankind Never before were men and women so alive to their capibilities and to their responsibilities towards each other. Let us advance together in ever widening combinations, with ever broadening hopes labouring for the good of all

For oh it were a gullant deed To show before mank at Hew every rece and every creed M ght be by love comb ned— M ght be comb ned yet not forget The founts as whouce they rese As filled by usay a tryallo The stately Ganges Nows"

One of your siges has compared the soul of man to a bird, and earthly existence to the period marked by its flight through a room—out of the illimitable into the illimitable. By devoting ourselves to the good of others, we can best occupy that brief space. The was assertion of common rights is enlightened altruism.

Hero I brought to a conclusion this address, as, with the exception of a few senten ces, I had prepared it in Ireland and on the ocean. Since then I have landed in India have seen some of your schools and colleges, have lingered in the crowded streets of your cities, have listened to the him of your manufactories, have talked with your leaders have watched the sun rise and set on the plans where such a large proportion of your population hardly wring their living from the soil I now somewhat realize the sprpassing beauty of your land I have met you here face to face How faint and weak, how inadequate to the expression of my inmost feelings is what I have written and spoken. Apart from those family and national ties, which to each one of us are the first of life's hlessings-the choicest gifts of God-I regard this visit to India, and permission to take part in the proceedings of this great a semblage, as the highest privilege, and one that cannot but profoundly influence my remaining years So far, two convictions before all others, press themselves upon me The one the greatness, apart from its inception and much of its history, of the mission of the United Lingdom in this land-the other that this Congress movement is the necessary and logical outcome, the richest fruit of that noble mission, of which we citizens of the United Lingdom should be proud I on yourselves are taking up the work—the work which you and you alone can nitimately perfect- the eradication by direct friendly intercourse of all possible race, creed, or national prejudices amongst all lovers of your country." This is in truth the greatest combined peaceful effort for the good of the largest number of the human race that history has recorded (Lond and long continued Cheers)

The PRESIDENT -My first duty is a pleasing one, it is to sal. Mr Surendra Nath Banerjea to read a letter, which was placed in my hands just before the meeting commenced

The Honorable Mr Surendea Nath Banerjea, who on rising was received with enthusiastic cheers, said -

I may say you will be gratified with the pleasing announcement which the letter that the President I as asked me to read contains. It is the announcement of a munificent and princely gift by one of the great inen of your Presidency on behalf of the Congress cause (Oherr). The letter, which is from the Rajah of Rammed, in as follows.—

I have the lonor to inform you that I have remitted a sum of Rs 10000 in a d of the funds of the lad an National Congress as a small token of the appeality which I feel for the more ment, which is if loughly logal in its character and is frought with nonseakable blessings to the recopie of It has I trust that my donation will be received by the Committee of the National Congress

Three cheers were then given for the Rapah of Rammad

The Persistent — I now call upon the delegates of the different Congruss Circles to elect the members of the Subjects Committee Let the Secretaries of the various Congress Circles sen I up the list of the Members.

Mr. Guosal. -Tl e following are propo ed as members of the Subjects Committee -

MADRAS.

	MADKAS.	
1.	THE HOS'FLE P RUNGIAN NAME GARE	Madras
2	, C SUNEARAN NAIR	do
3	G PARAMESWARAN PILLAI, I sq	do
4.	V VICARAGHAVACHARITAR, I sq	do
5.	RAI RAHADLE P ANANIA CHARLU	đ
£	FARDLET NORTON, Esq.	do
7	HUBERT MOIGHT BrowSE LSQ	do
8	DEWAR BARAPCE S SCHEAMANIA ITEE, C I L.	do
٩.	PETER PAUL PILLAI, I sq	do
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President a

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	11	G Subramania Iter, Esq.	do
bleetion of	12	M. R. Ramareishna Itre, I sq	do
Subjects	13	H VENEZZA SERBA RAO, LOQ	do
Committee	14	V ARUNAGILI NAIDU, ESQ	do
	13	THE HOYOLABLE ME KALIANA SUNDAHAN LYES	Tanjore
	16	S A Sahinatha Irre, Esq.	do
	1"	k. Vasubeva Ivendar, 1-sq	Frichinopoly
	18	THE HON RABLE N NUBBA RAO PANTULU	Godavery
	19	G VENEATA RATHAM, I SQ	do
	20	V V ASSIANI LANGULU	Masalipatam
	21	STAMA SUNDARA RAO LEO	Vizianngaram
	22	d Krishnagawhi Iver, Leq	Tinnevelly
	23	L R GURUSANI ITER, LEQ	ilo
	21	W VIERASAMI ITER Esq	bal m
	25	T S BALARRISHNA IYER LSQ	Combatore
	-6	K. Slingvara Row, I sq	do
	27	INC HONORABLE A SABAPATHY MUDALITAR	Bellary
	28	Her Stephenson	Gooty
	29	RAI BAHADUR C JAMBULINGA MUDALIYAR	Cuddapah
	30	k R Ranasami lier, Psq	Malabar and
			Canara
	1 31	V Ryro Nambian, Long	do
	32	Achuta Menon, Leq	do
	33	J BYTHOU LEAT, LEQ, M P	Secunderabad
	34	P RANACHANDRA PILLAI, 189	do
	I	D E WACHA PRO	Bombay
	2	INC HONOBASIC C. H. SITALVAD	do
	3	DE L N BRADDESS	do
	4	M V CHURBERS Fed	do
	Đ	Dи M 6 Визниоок	do
	6	A DEV LSQ	do
	7	JAG MOHAN DAS VANDEA VANDAS ESQ	do

2	THE HONOBASER C H SITALVAD
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a	Dв M 6 Венноок
6	A DEV LSQ
7	JAO MOHAN DAS VANDEA VANDAS
8	MULKAI KHAFAO PSQ .
8	GOAULDAS DWARKADASS TALATO, 1-8Q
10	GOLIND APARI PATE, LOQ
1	GOVINDARAO APARI PA 11, EsQ
12	G S MUKHADAN PRO
13	DATABHAI LIUTEAN ESQ
14	S R KIRLOSKAN LSQ
15	S N SAIHAYEE LEQ
16	N B MODLAY ESO

BALAKRISHNA RAMACHANDEA KOTWAL VASUDEVA BALUJE ASAT ESQ. THI HONORABLL V R NATU BA LLD

19 S A CHHATER ESQ 20

S B BHATE Esq. 22 RAI BAHADUR V M BILDE K P GARGIL FSQ

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25	M B NAMOSHI ESQ	do	
26	PROF. G K GORHALE	do	Election of
27	R D VAGARKAR E Q	do	Subjects
28	RAJABAN YESHWANT RAJA 1-50	Nasık	Committee.
29	R P KALANIKAR ESQ	batara	
30	G B PHANSALKAP FSO	do	
31	1 S SAHASPABUDHI ESO	do	
32	D B LARASVIS F Q	đo	
33	DONIAT RAM JUTUMAL PRO		
34	G PISCHAL LAQ	do	
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1	L \ MULHOLKAR FSQ		
2	(r V KANL ESQ		
3	L C BAIAT FSQ		
	CENTRAL PROVINCE	₹S.	
1	RAO SAHIB BALAVANDA RAO MAHAJANA		
2	C V VAIDU FA		
1	D: ADARASINGHA GOUR MA LLD		
4	L V Deshurni Esq		
5	N K KELAMADA PSQ		
0	K V Joshi Esq		
7	RAO SAHEB KASIVATE RAO VAIDTA		
8	BAGHIRATH PRASAD ESQ		
9	Lеканиала Rao		
	N. W. P. & OUDH.		
1	THE HONORABLE RAJA RAMPAL SINGH		
2	THE HONORABLE CHARGO CHUNDER VITTER		
3	PANDIT MADAN MORAN MALAVITA BA LLB		
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First Day

Election of
Subjects
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	m #1		Calcutta
9	PASCPATHI NATH BASU, ESQ		do
10	BABU PROMATH NATH MITTER		do
11	P N MITTER Esq		do
12	PANDIT KALI PRASANNA KABYA BISHARAD		Hooghly
13	BABU BISHNU PADA CHATTERJEE		do
14	BARR KEDAR NATH BANKRIER		Dacca
15	BARR SARAT CHARDEL CHARRAVARII		24 Purgannahs
16	BARU JOTINDRA NATH ROY CHOWDER		
17	KALI PEASANNA ACHARYA, ESQ.		Rajshahye
18	BABU MADES CHANDRA CHATTERIES		Dinajpur
19	BABU RAKHAL DAS SEN		do
_	BARU AMARCHANDRA DATTA		Mymensing
20	BABU SASANKA KUMAR GHOSH		do
21	BARU SASANKA KURAR GROW		Moorshidabad
22	BABU BOIKANTA NAIH SEV		do
23	BABU HEMENDRA NATH SEN		Faridpur
24	BABU AMBICA CHARAN MOZUMDAP		do
25	BABU PETHISH CHANDRA ROY		Chota Nagpur
26	BARU SARAT CHANDRA SEN		Bakergani
27			Bogra
28			Pabna
29	Kunja Lal Shaha Esq		do
80	BABU MORINI MOHAN CHARRAVARTI		Chittagong
31	BARE SARANKA MOHAN SEN		-
	The President -Is at the pleasure of th	e Congress that	these names should

The President —Is it the pleasure of the Congress that these names should be confirmed? (Voices Yee I Yes)

Mr R VENEATABATAM -I bave an amendment to move

The PRESIDENT -What is the nature of your amendment?

Mr VENEATARATNAM -If you will allow me to speak I will tell you

Mr. Yeneataranam — It you will show me to apend I will be your The Passident — You must state the terms of your amendment from your place

The President — I on must cauch the state of post and the president of the Mr. Verkataratham — I more that a certain name be omitted from the Subjects Committee (Or eas of Not Not)

The PERSIDENT --Give me the grounds of your objection Has he not been properly put forward by his district?

Mr Veneralemen - My object on is that a gentleman of that nature (Interruption)

The President — Nonr amendment is entirely out of order — I cannot consider any such amendment (Cheers) — Gentlemen let those that are in favour of confirming these names say Aye (Voices All All') I declare these gentlemen duly elected — The Subjects Committee will meet in one hour at 5 30 FM and the Congress itself adjourns till 12 o clock to morrow.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Thursday, the 27th December, 1894

The Congress met at 12 noon

THE PERSIDENT —Mr Ghosal will now read out the rules for the conduct of business
MI GHOSAL —Gentlemen, these are the rules for the conduct of business. Please
hear then intentively, as the business of the Congress will be conducted according to these
rules —

Reading of Rules for conduct of human ess

PENTIL INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1891

RULES FOR THE CONDUCT OF BLANKS

No on who as not a Delegate will be allowed to address the Congress or vote on any matter

Every Dolegate must address the assembly from the speaker's platferm.

The proposers, seconders, and supporters of each resolution will be selected by the Subjects Committee

The President will allot the time during which each speaker can speak, and no one should execut this without the special premission of the President. The President will sound his going once to warn cach speaker when the time allotted to him is drawing to a close, he will sound it a second time when that period has classed, and should be consider that the speaker ought to ease speaking, the President will touch the going again when the speaker must, there and their close his address.

Any Delegate not selected but who may wish to speak an any resolution should send in his name and that of the Congress Circle to which he belongs, legally written on a piece of paper, to the Privilent name speak, when called upon by the President to do so

Any one wishing to propose any inheridment to any resolution must send to the President a slip of paper communing the anicolution, his own name and that of it is seconder, as also the names of the Congress Circles to which they respectively belong, a similar slip should be handed to the Reputer.

Any on who wishes to propose a new subject for discussion by the Congress must give previous notice of it in writing to the President at the commencement of the satung, with a copy of any resolution by wishes to prope c, his own name and the name of the Congress Circle he belongs to

No other business shall be I rought forward before the Congress until the subjects and resolutions approved by the Subjects Committee have been disposed of

But afterwards, if time primits any Delegate who shall have given notice in writing, at the commence in int of the sitting, to the President of his desire to have a particular subject shoemed, or a definit production, which he arts forth, proposed, which have a right to move, but any delegate who at any time previous to rising shall have given the necessary notice may, with the permission of the President, rise and ask the President to take the same of the assembly as to whether such subject shall be discussed. No speaking at this stace shall be

Second Day Bules for conduct of business

sllowed. The President will annuly read out the subject and the proposed resolution and make any such temarks as he considers essential and take a vote of the assembly as to whether the subject shall or shall not be discussed. If the vote is in the affirmative the proposal shall the set forth the subject and the resolution he piopo es with such explanations as he consider necessary, and then after due discussion the question shall be disposed of in the usual way If the vote is in the negative, the subject shall be at once dropped

THE PRESIDENT -Mr Morgan-Browne has a short statement to make to you

Mr. Morgay Browne -Gentlemen, your British Committee has published a Report and a statement of accounts for the current year the delegates will be furnished with a copy of this Report upon application to Mr Partmeswarano Pillar, one of the Secretaries of the Recention Committee I also wish to state that for the convenience of the delegates and the secretaries of the various Congress Committees, there is but no in this commound an office where subscriptions to ' India' will be receive I, and the names and addresses of the people subscribing for next year will be taken down I trust that many will take the oppor tunity of registering their names as subscribers to the Congress organ ' India and mising their subscriptions Let mo just remind you, Gentlemen, that this is a cash office -- no credit (Laughter)

THE PRESIDENT -I desire to say that the letters I have received as President of the Congress are quite too numerous for me to answer I have to thank the different writers The letters have been handed over to the Secretaries and will be properly dealt with by them Mr Wacha, of Bombay, will now move the first resolution

Ms D E Waces, who on rising was received with Cheers, said -Wi President, Ladies and Gentlemen, the resolution that has been entrusted to me runs as follows -

Resolution I Cotton Frense

Daty ME DE WACKA

- (a) That this Congress respectfully enters its emphatic protest against the injustic, and impolicy of imposing excise duty on cottons manufactured in British India, as such exciso is calon loted to emple seriously the infant mill industry of this country
 - (b) That this Congress puts on record its firm conviction that in proposing this excise the interests of India have been sacrificed to those of Lancishire and strongly lepicortes any such
- surrender of Indian interests by the Secretary of State (c) That in case the Excise Bill becomes law this Congress carnestly mays that the Government of India will without delay, seek the sanction of the Secretary of Stile t exercise the powers which the Bill confers on Government to exempt all cottons from twenties to twenty-

fours from the operation of the Act (d) That the President be authorised to telegraph the above Resolution to the Government of India and to the Secretary of State

You will observe Gentlemen, that the Resolution is divided into four parts, but before I dwell on each of these, I may as well explain to you why it has been judged necess ary by the Subjecte Committee to give this Resolution precedence over all others. It is the urger cy of the occasion which demands it As you are all aware, the I xcise Duty Bill wil be read for the third time and passed into law this day And this is the earliest opportunit which is offered to the Congress to make its voice, as the exponent of enlightened native publi opinion, heard in the Council of the empire at Calcutta We must therefore be prompt an epeedy in our action (Hear, hear) Coming now to the subject matter of the Resolution I may say it will not require any very lengthened observations from me to commend its adol tion to you, for the question has been very ahly and intelligently threshed out, not only b enlightened Native and English public opinion, as represented by the Press, but by expert such as the Mill Owners' Association and the Covernment of India Thus all India, so I speak, has exhausted the discussion on the ments and dements of the piece of legislation white to now on the anvil (Cheers) Now, before I specifically refer to the different sections

Cannad Day Deceletion I Catton Freisi Date No D. P. Wacua ca e whatever has been made out to show that the import duty on cotton goods will be protecture in its character or act as a bount; on our homo manufactures I daresay most of you, if not all, have nerused the very able and exhaustive memorial on the subject submitted some tuno ago to the Government of India by the Bombay Mill Owners' Association, also the munte of the Hon Mr Westland, dated 14th July last, which accompanied the despatch of the Government of India to the Sceretary of State, dated 7th August, recommending that if any excise duty was to be levied, it should be on all counts of variabove "twenty fours". The former body collected statistics from 100 mills in the country, 70 of which are in Bombay, the centro of the industry, and conclusively demonstrated that of the total manufactures counts between "twenty fours" and "thirties" only come to 6 per cent . and that the total value of exports of Indian manufactured cottons above "twenties" does not exceed 80 laklis of rupeer On the other hand, out of the bulk of all descriptions of cotton fabrics imported into Inda from the United Kingdom only 2 per cent are of counts under "twenties" Virtually, thee, Lancashire does not compete with this country in the coarser kinds, and India does not compete with Lancashire in the finer kinds. Thus statistics completely disprove the cry of protection Absolutely nothing is protected by the import duty, which, therefore, in no way acts as a bounty on home made cottons This being the exact economic condition of the indigenous industry, can it be reasonably urged that the excise duty is justifiable? And if it be not justifiable, can we not characterise it as unjust " (Hear, hear) For of what use imposing a duty for which there exists no justification? Again, as Mr Westland observed in his speech, revenue is not the consideration. That simply emphasizes the injustice. For if there be no necessity to levy it for purposes of revenue and if it is not even for purposes of counter balancing the import duty, what is it imposed for? The Honorable the I manco Minister gives a reply to the query It is to please the Secretary of State on behalf of those rood and mout people of Manchester (Laughter) I have, I trust, demonstrated to you the injustice of the lery Let mo for a moment refer to the impolicy of it I say, and so do all who are Leeuly interested in the natural growth and development of the indestry, that it is impolitio from the economic point of view The flourishing cotton trade, I fear, is liable to be acrously hampered, though the Secretary of State seems to regard this contingency with a light heart My lakef is that not only will our future industrial development be retarded, but that the presperity which has hitherto attended our manufactures will receive a rudo shockespecially in Africa and Arabia It is indeed most unfortunate. While the Government of India is successly decrease of witnessing a further development of the country's cotton mann factures, it is constrained under the arbitrary instructions of a superior authority to ilo the very thing which will arrest that development (Herr, lear) Are we not all aware that the future material progress of this country will the pend on the a Ivanec it may nake in its manufactures of all kinds of raw products? Do we not desire to I ecome us far as possible milependent of foreign countries for the finer class of cloths we now require-cloths of all descriptions, whose imports average about 28 to 30 crures per annum? I have great faith, frentlemen, in the industrial revolution of India. She underwent one-n inest nischur ous one about a century ago. What with leavy export duty a n indigenous cottons on the one hand, and light import duties on foreign fabrics on the other, our rulers netually killed the thriving cloth tral . (Shame -a state of things from which we have fut recently emerged. Our material salvatim, therefore, rests upon our making progress with the spin ming of finer counts, (Hear, Lears, and so I mg as artificial restraints of the character of this muguetifiable excise duty are put upon our industry it is vain to hope that we shall ever get the chance we want, and bring about that peaceful industrial revolution which would lead to our prosperity. On these economic grounds the invasure will no doubt be consulered extremely impolitic (Hear, hear) I now pass on to the second clause of the Resolution, which records, and justly, the

man mone opinion of all India that in k sying the excise duty her interests have been sacr

Second Day — Resolution I The President —11e first Resolution has been properly proposed and seconded Those of you who are of apimus that it should be passed please say "Aye". The Resolution was carried with acclumation

THE PRESIDENT - Mr Bolkunta Nath Sen will propose the second Resolution

Resolution If
Land Question

MR BOILUNTA

NATH SEY

M1 BOIKUNTA NATH STW —Mr President Fellow-Delegates and Gontlemen,—I have been entristed with the second Resolution, which is to this effect —

(a) That this Congress desirts to express the profound alarm which has been created by the action of the Government is interfering with the existing permanent settlement in Bengal and Behar (in the matter of survey and othe casses) and with the terms of Sunnads of permanenty sattled estates in Madras, and deciming such interference with solomin pledges a national calamity hereby piedges itself to oppose in all possible legitimate, ways all such reactionary attacks on permanent settlements and their holders and resolves to petition Parliament in that behalf

(b) That this Congress regrets extremely that the Government of India have not only failed to carry out the pledges (given by the Secretary of State in his Despatches of 1862 and 1863) for permanent settlement in the provinges in which it does not exist but have also failed to give effect to the policy of granting mothfeld firstly of tenure and immunity from enhal coment laid down in 1892 and 1884 by the Government of India and approved by the Secretary of State, and this Congress hereby enterests the Guerument of India to grant a modified firstly of tenure and immunity from enhancement of land tax for a sufficiently long provid of not less than early years so as to secure to landholders the full benefits of their own improvements

Now this Resolution may be called the Resolution regarding the land we live on The whole of the Indean population is interested in the solution of this question and I may say directly interested Bengal enjoys certain privileges which the other sister provinces do not enjoy But the vested rights of Rengal have been threatened, therefore Bengal too is directly concerned The importance of the question is fully appreciated by all, and it has gradually in the course of five or six years secured for itself a certain amount of prominence Now this question was first mooted in the fourth Congress In the fifth Congress the Resolu tion was to this effect-I mean the Resolution on this subject -" that the Government be "urged to take the subject of a permanent settlement once more under consideration in view to "practical action thereon, such that fixity and permanency may be given to the settlement of "the Government Land Revenue elemand without further delay, at any rate in all fully ' populated and well cultivated tracts of the country" Now after this Resolution was adopted by the Congress, year after year Resolutions have been recorded from this Congress platform rescating the prayer for fixity and permanency of Guvernment land revenue demand. Your after year it has been requested that practical effect might be given to the principles laid down in the Secretary of State's despatch of 1862, which has been approved by subsequent desystelies, and that effect anght also be given to the line of action indicated in the se despatches Now in the despatch of 1862, unnugest other things, you will find this, that "after the most careful review of all these considerations Her Majesty's Governo ment are of opinion that the advantages which may be ressumably expected to accrue, not "only to those immediately concerned with the land but to the community generally, are "sufficiently great to justify them in incurring the risk of some prospective loss of revenue "in order to attain them, and that a settlement in perpetuity in the districts in which the "conditions required are or may hereafter to fulfilled is a measure dictated by sound poler "and calculated to accelerate the development of the resources of India, and to insure in the "highest degree the welfare and contentment of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects" Now with this despitch before us, and with the noble and the liberal principle formulated in the despitch, we I ad, of course, good reasons to hope, but the question is have our expects tions been fulfilled. The successive measures adopted by Government are not evolutions of forward progress but they are re-actionary and retrograde in their nature, and it is is view of this that last year on this subject Resolutions were adopted by Congress similar to the one which is now being placed before you for your acceptance. In this there is only the addition that the Congress resolves to petition Parliament in that hehalf Last year there was the alarm noted Now, Gentlemen, the imposition of cesses in Bengal-I mean the Road cess and the Public Works cess-was an infringement of the terms of the permanent settlement. It was in direct violation of the pledge that was given (Hear, hear) It was not sufficient to threaten those who had been enjoying the benefits of a permanent settlement, but, over and above that, in Behar, which is included in Bengal, a cadistral survey was introduced (Hear, hear) That was the third blow that was given. The fourth is yet in contemplation -I mean another cess for the maintenance of the Records of this Survey Now this Cadastral Survey has been commenced, and the area of survey has been selected by Government, and I must say a very had selection has been made You know, Gentlemen, the Maharajah of Durbhanga (Cheers), who is the premier Zemindar of Bengal, (he was once a ward of Court, that is, the Government held the property in trust for him during his minority) During the Stewardship of Government while the Government was holding of managing this property as Trustee, a cadastral survey entailing an expenditure of faklis of rupees was held. His estates, then, ought to have been the last selected by Government for the purpose of resurvey (Hear, hear; The landholder does not want it, no other tenure holders of subordinate interest require it, the agriculturists do not require it, but the Government says against all these voices, "We require it" Why? Is it for fiscal purposes? Or is it for statistical purposes? Or is it for the creation of disunion between agriculturists, tenure holders and Zemindars. I hope it is not the last. If it is for fiscal purposes, then it is patent, that the permanent settlement will be brutally assailed again (Hear, hear) If it is for statistical purposes the Government has no right to call upon the Zemindars or the agriculturists to make any contribution towards the expenses (Cheers), so that from all possible stand points of view, from the different aspects of the case, the whole measure is unjustifiable. Now this Congress pledges itself to oppose by all legitimate ways and means such reactionary attacks on the part of the Government, and here I cannot help again mentioning the name of the Maharajah of Durbhanga (Hear, hear), in consequence of the bold attitude he has taken, the noble and magnanimous way in which, at considerable sacrifice, and I may say e en risk, he has been trying to maintain the integrity of the permanent settlement (Cheers) We ought to be thankful to him This Congress is following a line which he single hinded has been following, and now that these things are Long on, what are we to do? Last your we resolved that we should oppose the illegal interference of the Government by all legitimate means, but no definite method was pointed out our legitimate ways and means were not definitely pointed out, this time you lave it, 112, that we propose to petition Parliament in that behalf Our perspective must be adjusted according to the altered circumstances, that is the only remedy left for the present. This is a grevance for which we ask redress and this is the only legitimate way in which we can approach the fountain head of justice, at the same time I must say that the diminution of the discharge from the channels of the fount in head caused by I xecutive intervention, is not a very hopeful sign for us. There might be tampering with the orders and mandates and Resolutions of Parlimitent, for our said experience show, as you will have occasion to hear from other speakers that these mandates from Parliament are not always given effect to (Stane?) Still we must persist and I think you will all recept this pirt of the kesolution. I believe I ought not to take up your time any longer as regards the first part. I do not know whether I bavo exceeled my time, Mr President (Cries of " to to') (The President here intimated to the speaker that his time had not yet expired)

Now I come to the second part (Cheers) Gentlemen, with regard to this second part, you see there is a sort of concession on our part I say concession on our part,

Resolution II Land Question

MR BOIRUNTA NATH SEN Second Day

Resolution 11

Land Question

Mr. Boilunta Nath Sen because hitherto we have been asking for and demanding permanent settlement in the Goversment Land Revenue demand that is we have been asking for fixity in perpetuity as it were But you will see that to a certain extent we recede from that position. It cannot be expected —perhaps that is the opinion of the majority—that we should get that sort of permanent settlement which has been accorded to Bengal. But we can get it in a modified form. Now when the permanent settlement in Bengal, was completed, that is in the year 1793, a contemporaneous minute from the Board of Resenue of Fort Saint George, recorded by Mr. White was sent up and was approved by the Commission that was appointed for enquiring into the state of affairs of the late East India Company. It was in 1812 that that Commission placed on record its approval of the scheme preposing to extend the permanent settlement this Presidency also. Thus from 1812 full fifty years passed away, and it was not until 1825 that we come to the despatch of the Secretary of State for India in which the (covernment) of down certain rules for the extension of the permanent settlement. The despatch of 1862 was again approved by that of 1860 and then there was a despatch by the Viceroy in 1882 which was also approved in 1885.

These despatches land down certain rules for the extension of the permanent set tlement There were certain conditions precedent, riz, the bringing under cultivation of a certain portion of the area Four fifths of the entire area was fixed as the amount to be brought under cultivation in order that the permanent actilement might be accorded to such local area Now in some tracts, with the object of getting that privilego the conditions have been fulfilled. in some other parts the conditions have been partially fulfilled and if time will allow thes will also surely be fulfilled The infilment of these conditions is not an easy thing, it requires the investing of money Hero comes in the question of unearned increment. It is not the nu earned increment which these land owners are trying to get they are investing their money. they are bestowing their labour, and they ask for a return So you see, these persons who now hold under temporary settlement are not at all asking for the uncarned increment. Thay wish to have the fruits of their own labour and a return for the capital they have invested Before the despatch of 1862 there was no stimulas whatsoever for investing money, heesuwe there was no knowing when the property in ght be re measured, when there might be inter ference by Government again and when the property would be snatched away from their hands There was no security, no value, and therefore no stimulus for investing moust the despatch of Government cml oldened the pe ple, it is duced them to invest their mones to improve the land They have fulfilled their part of the contract, and if it had been, Gentlemen, a question between individual and individual perhaps one would be inclined to ask ' Why not suo?" (Cheers) Why not bring a suit for damages ' (Hear, I car) Why not sue for specific performance of the contract' (Cheers) And the resne would have been a very simple one for a Civil Court of Justice to decide But here you have Royal prerogatives Here the Municipal Laws would not affect the party concerned In the case of andividuals there is what you would call a breach of faith hability to damages briblity to perform specifically the contract agreed upon, for which you could bring a suit in Court, but with regard to the Crown, we supplicate, we entreat \ \ \ \text{on see this in the words of the Resolution, that this Congress hereby "entrents" the Government (Cheers) We do not demand whatwo are entitled to get as a matter of right in the Civil Court, but we sufflicate and entreat. Then again we do not ask the Government to part with its entire control over the property, for we do not ask for settle ment su perpetuity, as I call it in contradistinction to temporary settlement Let a sufficiently long period be given to us with a certain amount of assurance-in fact, it is a microscopic demand that we make after all What we say is-let there be some sort of assurance given to us so that we may I e willing to invest money and so il at we may expect to get a sufficient return for the money that we invest and for the labour that we bestow Now the Government will still have the power to make a fresh settlement, we say let the settlement be for sixty years, and let no enchancement be made for eaxty years. This, I submit, is n very fair and modest request, and the Govennment—at least for its own sake 10 order to get out of the difficulty, or at least to show an appearance of keeping its pledge—ought to accede to our prayer and our request. With these remarks I sak you to accept the Resolution (Loud Chiere) Resolution II Land Question

THE PRESIDENT -I his Revolution will be seconded by the Honorable Mr Natu, of Bombay

Hon Me V R

1 HF HONORABLE MR NATU -Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen-After the gloquent and able address of my predecessor it would not be proper for me to take up your time but for one very important thing, and that thing concerns the masses of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay | The gentleman who preceded me represents the Presidency of Bengal, and our opponents are likely to say that his interests coincide with the interests of the Bengal Zemindars, that he simply sheds crocodile tears, and that he himself, being a Zemindar, does not take an interest in the welfare of the masses i think it necessary, therefore, to take up your time for a few tannutes while I explain to you how the Resolution before you affects, to the greatest extent, the interests of the masses of this country. You know that in India 80 per cent of the population is an agricultural population, and that the bulk of the Revenue derived by Government comes from land. So this question is not only a question for the people but also a question for the Government it is the duty of the people to watch the increasing demands of Government carefully, and it is the duty of Govern ment, or at least it is to the interest of Government, to take as much as possible from the people. In this conflict of interests it is always a most important thing for us to see how far Government is carrying out the pledges which it has solemnly made from time to time. So far as our Presidency is concerned I would simply point to two Resolutions which were passed by the Government of India in 1882 and in 1884. Those Resolutions were very useful to the people because they placed certain limits or checks upon the cohancement which was to be made on Revision Survey There is the Resolution on a new revisit of Survey in the Bombay Presidency The Assessment was not to be increased in the case of a group of villages hy more than 33 per cent Now, even in spite of this Resolution, and even in spite of the promises made from time to time by well known men like Lord Ripoo, the present Govern ment of Bombay have taken a retrograde step in unduly cohancing the assessment, and in that connection I will simply refer you to the instance of the Konkan Talags. The assessment on these villages has already been considered, and the Revence from this group of villages has been increased by 44 per cent. In the case of Assam, you know that last year the same Resolutions which were applied to the Presidency of Bombay were to a certain extent upplied to other Provinces of India Assam is an instance before us. There the increase of assessment was enormous. And what was the coormous morease? It was simply 100 per tent And what was the increase in the Presidency of Bombay? It was 1,200 per cent in the case of three Talags in the Katnaguri District, and of three Talags in the Albag District, the poorest district. The limit put down was simply in the case of radividual holdings, but the change from 100 per cent to 1,200 per cent is certainly a very great leap, and the question is certainly of such vital importance to the masses that from year to year we must bring it before the Congress, and year after year we must urge upon the attention of Government the necessity of redeeming the pledges given to us, for the whole peace and prosperity of this country depends upon the good will of the masses, consisting, as they do, chiefly of the agricultural population. Io India you will find that the Government, as has already been explained by my predecessor, not only failed to act up to the despatches of 1862 and 1865, but also failed to carry out the little promises which were made, and the little concessions which were accepted as Rules in the Presidency of Bomhay and other parts of India. Those Rules have been over ridden, and Government is not willing to carry out even those small concessions. Our country is not an industrial country; at is a country of agriResolution II
Land Question

NATE

culturists, and every day the Government is putting a burden upon the agriculturists Gentlemen, the support which you ahould accord to this Resolution will further show that this Congress does not wish it to be understood that it represents the classes only but also the masses of India I would point out one instance from the Presidency of Bombry where the entire assessment of the land was increased by 12 likhs. When we consider the s facts we see that the question is one of immense importance to every one of us, requiring t be studied from all points of view One word before I take my seat, and that is this In discussing the question of permanent settlement we must always draw a line of demarcation between the permanent settlement which exists in the Presidency of Bengal and the little concessions that we ask for in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay In the case of the permanent settlement in Rengal the State has to deal with the middle men, the Zemindara In the case of Madras and Bomhay the State has to deal directly with the agriculturists, the Talakdars and Ryots - I wen in that case Government is so charitable in taking care of the interests of the Ryots that it has put checks upon the demands of the Kons, but at the same time it is not charitable enough towards the Kons them class Government is increasing its demands upon the Kons while it does not allow the Kons to increase their demands upon the Ryots But there is another thing which I want to point out, and it is this, that while Government has enacted the Bengal Tenaucy Act in the interests of the tenants it does not carry out that principle in its own case when it has to deal directly with the milhous and millions of ryots in India Government always anys that the masses must be kindly treated, it also further states that the agricultural interests must be watched. There is a Bill before the Logislative Council—that is, the Deccun Agriculturists' Indebtedness Act Tho Bill is so short that it has entirely disoppointed all men in the Presidency of Bombay As the Agri cultural Committee suggested, their poverty is not due entirely to the Sowcars, but is much more due to the demands which have been made from time to time by the Government be it must be noted that while the Bill is pretty useful so far as the Sewcars are concerned, the Government chelves the most important question so far as the Ryots of the Decean are con cern.d, and it is sure not to take up this question because Mr Tee Warner does not like it (Shame) There is one other point In the case of the Deccan Agriculturists' Act the Govern ment was requested by the Poona Sarvajanil Sabha to take up the question of the demand namely, that the domand should not be made in times of scarcity, and that Government should make coucessions from time to time to the Process in times of fumilio, but that question has been entirely dropped Wo say that whenever you introduce Revision Survoys you should simply adhere to your own terms, that you should simply hunt your demand to 33 per cent That is the only inmited demand We do not want a persistent settlement in the sense is which it is understood in Bengal Foreigners, including the President who comes from s foreign country, should not be mi-hed into supposing that the bulk of the population in Indis requires a permanent settlement in the sense in which it is understood in Bengal It is a limited demand, a demand accepted by Government as proper and just and followed for some years When the Government is hard pressed for money they should not commit a breach of faith, so Gentlemen, I request that this great and important proposition may always be brough hefore this Congress until we find that Government is pledged in the interest of these classes to fully redeem those pledges, and thus seeme to us the benefits of pledges so solemnly given by men who really understood the case of the poverty of our people With these few remarks I request that you will accept this Resolution without a voice of dissert ton (Clears) THE PRESIDENT -In amendment has been placed in my hands. The conrec

The President — in amendment has been placed in my hands. The control propose to follow is to be the proposer and seconder or the amendment speak, and then to call upon other gentlemen to speak. I have to remind the proposer and seconder of the call upon other gentlemen to speak. I have to remind the proposer and seconder of the call upon that they have only five minutes each. Captain Busin will now more the amendment that they have only five minutes each.

CAPTAIN BANON -Mr President and Gentlemen, I have an amendment to propose and it is in the following terms -

Resolution II
Land Question

CAPT BAYON

"That this Congress desires to urgo upon the Government of Indus the policy and expediency of granting the firity and permanency of the Land Revenue, and that if the only obstacle to the grant of a permanent settlement to all Indus be the former permanent settlement of Lord Cornwallis this Congress, being solely actuate I for the comman good of all Indus and not of one portion only, will, in the interests of the agricultural and labouring classes, offer no opposition to, nor make, any protest against, the re-assessment by the Government of Indus of the land under the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis."

I may begin by saying that I am very desirons of a permanent settlement for all India, because I myself am a rytwar in the Panjab, but the only difficulty that I can see to our getting this permanent settlement is the permanent settlement at present existing in Bengal. Government say that they is equite enough money already by this permanent settlement in Bengal, and that as long as it exists they cannot give a permanent settlement to the rest of India. I live amongst the rytowars as I am one of them, and I know that they consider it very unfair to them that they should pay twice as much land revenue as they would pay but for this permanent settlement in Bengal. I would also direct your attention to another question. It has always been alleged against this Congress that it favours the interests of the richer classes as against those of the poorei classes. That I do not believe, but I think, it you support this Resolution, you will add a good deal of colour to the accusations against as

There is another matter also that I should like to bring to your notice. By prising this resolution regarding this permanent settlement, you alienate from you the support of the radical party in England who are against landloids and the uneximed increment. There is one last point that I want to bring to your notice and that in the Endget Speech of Mr Westland last year. He asserts that Congress brings forward many resolutions, but that all these resolutions cost money. "Will the Congress bring forward may resolution whereby money may come into the Government coffers?" he says, and be holds out a sort of condition or stipulation to us that if we find him money ho is quite ready to grant our resolutions—any resolution that is at all reasonable. I have no doubt that if we do find him the money, we shall get several things that we are asking for, ence as, a highter Sult iax, some reduction of I notione Pax, less harsh Porest Laws hetter orgunization of the police, and the separation of pudicial and executive functions. Gentlemen, I have only five minutes, I cannot say any more, but I think you should bear all these to mand in considering the former resolution, and now with your permission I will sit down. (Hear, hear.)

The President —The amendment will be seconded by Mr Parthwarridy, of Madras (No one however came forward to second the amendment) —There appears to be no seconder to this amendment, it therefore falls to the ground —I now call upon the Honorable Mr K Kalkanasundrum liker to speak on the original Resolution

The Hon Mr h Kalvansundam Iver—Mr Chairman and Gentlemen, in my hamble opinion a permanent settlement of the land revenue due to Government is the only proper settlement soutable to the condition of this country. The mun objection against a permanent settlement is that the nation as a whole is entitled to what is termed the uncarried increment—that is, when the value of the land and its produce has increased in consequence of the increase of population and wealth and not by any exertions on the part of the land owner, then the State, as representing the community, may justly claim this increase, but however sound this claim may be in countries where lands have accumulated in the hands of a few, it load its force in a country like India where the agricultural population forms the majority, nearly eighty per cent, and is almost identical with the community itself. If to

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HON MR K KALTANASUNI RAM IVIE this fact be added the consideration that about fifts millions of people denending on agriculture for their maintenance and support are on the verge of starvation then it would be a fi. demand on Government to ask that the agricul-nrailets be allowed to retain in their hards whatever merease they can get, so that the condition of these poor people mucht be betterd by direct and indirect means (Cleers) While such are the arguments in favour of a rer manent settlement. Gentlemen, the policy that is being pursued by Government seems to be one of a very opposite nature There are already laud complaints that with respect to estate which have been once permanently settled the rynts and the holders are being encloached apon by Government With regard to settlements which are most common in this Prisidence numely. Rvotwar Settlements at used at one time to be held that a period of thirty years was the shortest interval within which a re a ttlement inight be made But recently, in connection with one of the most important districts in this Presidency, this period was reduced by the Governor to twenty years (Shame) Now, Gentlemen what do these constant re settlements mean? You have an excellent illustration in the methods adopted in the re settlement of the district of Taniore The Government being fully abre to the evils attendant on settlement operations generally, determined that the average out turn of land should, first and once all, he estimated upon scientific principles, and that in future revisions the rise in prices alone should be taken into account The procedure adopted was this the average yield of had was ordered to be estimated by a scientific classification of soil, but not to be checked and tested ordered to be estimated by harvesting apparently this scientific classification of soil is to finely graded that the officers of the sottlement department have often, with reference to one and the same soil, been obliged to differ from themselves and cach other (Cheers), and with recard to the actual experiment made the result has been by no means more eatisfactory. small plot of land, the tenth part of an acre, was selected by the settlement denartment itself for the experiment in harresting and upon the result of this single experiment handreds of acree, nay thousands of acres, were southed as being able to produce a particular out turn The Mirasdare of the district naturally objected to such a course, they leadily complained that the actual yield of the land in their pessession was a great deal less than the estimate fixed by the department, and they clamourously demanded an Aman management for s reasonable period, for the purpose of determining the average yielding capacity of the land lut their complaints and their demanda were alike rejected (Slame) and they were in fact told that if the actual facts were not consistent with the theory evolved by the settlement depart ment it was so much the wore for their facts Now, Gentl men the utter unreliability of this theoretical settlement is clearly shown by the action of the authorities themselves. The gentleman who was appointed the settlement off eer of the district after a classification of the soil reported to Government that the re-settlement of the district would involve an increase of eighteen and a half laklis of rapees the assessment under the old settlement being about forty one likhs, but he addel, that if the district were to be treated upon scientific principles an increase of twenty-eight lakhs would not be too much (Shame) Apparently to the great loss of Government be finally recommended an increase of (nl) fourteen and u half lakhs This was reduced by the Board of Revenue by two lakes, and finally by Government to eleven anl a laff lakhy Thus you see the final dec u n of the Government imposed an increase of assessment representing only forty per cent of what should have been the increase according to the accurate scientific theory (Cherre) This shows that he authorities themselves have no confidence in their seventific methods (Clerrs) Well Gentlemen there are the difficulties attending a re cettlement, but apart from these difficulties there is the fact that on occasions like these Government are very apt strangely to forget their recognised obligations. With respect to Timpre the Board of Revenue reported that if the full additional assessment had to le imposed upon the district, it would become the duty of Covernment to lay out very to to impose upon the original requirement of money, for an equitable and economical distribution of water. Govern ment was generous enough to recogare this of ligation, but, Gentlemen nothing has yet been done in this latter direction, and, so far as the Mirawdars can see, there does not seem to be a prospect of anything being done in the near future. Yet the additional assessment has not only been imposed but actually collected (Shame). This should be sufficient to convince you that the permanent settlement is the only proper settlement to be applied to India, but, if it is impossible for us to get from Government a permanent settlement, we ought to be content with the next best thing, namely, the period of sixty years which is referred to in the resolution and which is certainly not too long. I submit, therefore, that the resolution as worded is most moderate and I hope that you will all ununinously adopt it. (Cheers.)

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MANA VIKLAMA RAIA -Mr President, Brother Delegates, Indies and Gentlemen 1 have much pleasure in giving iny cordial support to this proposition, the more so is I come from a district (Malabar) where Revenue Settlement operations are now in full swing, and where the question of assessment has been seriously engaging the attention of my countrymen for some time past. You have doubtless learned from the able speakers who have just preceded me, how a land-tax in perpetuity was ever obtained or was ever attempted to be introduced into this country and how conductive it is to a gricultural presperity. They have told you in common with the worthy speakers at the fifth and sixth Congresses held at Bombay and Calcutta that an agricultural crisis alone obtained for them the boon of this system, and that Government has by its own action districtly and namistakably admitted that in its opinion the fixing in perpetuity of the Government demand is an anfailing, if not the only, remedy against all agricul tural depression, and therefore promotes the agricultural prospects of a country. Be it noted that this admission on the part of Government is very material, as a sound administrative principle is involved therein, which is best shown by the action of Government itself Now, Gentlemen, having stated this much, it only remains for me to explain how far this policy has been adopted with respect to my district (Hear, hear)

Before proceeding further, I must tell you, significant, that the time allotted to a speaker under the rules does not allow me to do full justice to this subject, though no one will deny that it is one of vital interest and admits of a thorough and argumentative discussion. I shall therefore simply lay before you, as briefly no possible, certain facts and considerations which will show you the justice of our demand and our right to claim it. (Haar, hear)

Perhaps few of yon, Gentlemen know that analyte other districts, lands in Malabar are nurely private property and that this has been so since the time of the colonisation of the thetrict. The Hindu Rulers, despotic though some of them were, did not interfere with the integrity of this private ownership, these Rulers merely claimed Military Service from the landed proprietors in the exercise of their Sovereign rights, the State revenue being chiefly derived from customs and other excise dues. Consequently when the country passed out of the hands of the Huidu Sove reigns into these of their conquerors, all that the latter obtained were the rights and privileges which the former enjoyed. The Government having recognized the unique existence of this private ownership in lands, the question whether it can adopt the same princirles of h tilement as have been adopted in other districts with respect to our district seems to me a debutable one. To make the whole thing clear I shall briefly indicate to you the various steps taken from time to time by successive conquerors in the Revenue Settlement of Malabar, and you will, when you have heard them, doubtless agree with me that the Govern ment cannot, with any show of justice, reves the existing assessment, much less carry out the revision on the lines proposed by the local authorntes. Now, Gentlemen, prior to the British rule, the Province was administered by Haudu Rulers who did not introduce any Lind of land taxation. It was subsequently invaded by Hyder 1h, and even under him and his son Tippu, no definite and organized system of I and assessment was introduced, though attempts were reade now and then to introduce the same. In 1792 the district was formally ceded to the East India Company On the cersion of the district in 1712, Joint Commissioners were u

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appointed for the management of the affairs of Malahai and Canara which were administered by the Bombay Government till 1801, when they were transferred to the Government of Tet St. George The Commission was then abolished and the district subjected to the control and superintendence of collectors

Even before this transfer, the Conti of Directors and the Supreme Government of Bengal instructed the Bombry Government to consider the expediency of extending the system of Permanent Settlement to our district, while even subsequent to the trunsfer steps were taken by the Madras Government for the inhoduction of this system into a number of districts among which was included Malabar. It has also been amply demonstrated that the tendency of the authorities was to grant Permanent Settlementa—that is to fix unalterable assessments in perpetuity—whenever there was a crisis. It now remains for me to show you, Gentlemen, that there was a serious crisis in Malahar about this time and that the authorities were obliged to resort to the expediency of guaranteeing the permanency of our land tax. (Hear, hear)

Simultaneously with the transfer of our district to this Presidency, it was placed, as I have already told you, in charge of a principal Collector, Major MacLeod being the first officer so appointed. One of his first acts was to effect certain changes in the land assessments and in the orchange values of the current coins with the result that the inhabitants rose up in arms en move. He was unable to quell the stir and insurrection he had himself roused by his ill advised innovations, and was obliged to resign and quit the country, handing over charge of the district to bis successor, Mr. R. Rickards. This now officer's first out was to allay the exasperated public feeling by notifying that the old exchange prices would be revived, and that all complaints relating to land assessments would be carefully intended to and mivestigated. Later on in June 1803. Mr. Rickards called together all the leading Jannis and explained that, subject to the approbation of the Board of Revenue he proposed to have a new pymach and adopt certain new principles for a permanent systation. (Meers)

These principles, which were fully explained to them were upproved by all the land ed proprietors in the district who unanimously concurred in them and duly declared their acquiescence praying that they might be permanently applied to all lands then under cultivation as also to waste lands which might thereafter be reclaimed. An agreement was there upon formally signed and executed by all the Januars in the district. These facts were duly reported to the Government of Madras which formally and finally notified the same, ordering their adoption as the basis of a permanent and in alterable bettlement. (Loud Cleers) A Preclamation on the above lines and fully setting foith these principles and facts was issued on the 21st July 150s following the instructions already issued to all Collectors in 1802.

Now, Gentlemen, you can clearly set from the above account that the Proclamation was issued with it e sole object of concluding a people who had become disaffected on account of the innovations in the assessment brought about by Major MacLeod. This Proclamation and the agree ment I have referred to plunist modeste that what the people wished for, and obtained was a reasonable and permanent assessment. These documents are not capable of any other interpretation than that the principles and money rates already agreed upon and fixed between the Collectro on behalf of Government and the Januars of the district were to be permanent and unriterable (Lout Ofters)

Now, Gentlemen, 1 ask you to remember that the Permanent Settlement of Bengal was grunted in 17°3 when there was a similar cross, and that inferentially the tendence of Government has been to fix the land assessment in perpetuity when the exigencies of the circumstances necessitated.

ed such a step You will also remember, Gentlemen, as I have just told you, that Government was in a similar predicament about this time. There was an insurrection in the district caused by the ill advised innovitions of a Collector People rose up in arms en musee, and the only ex pedient which it was possible for his successor to adopt in order to restore peace and tranquility in the district was to guaranted fixity of tennre by a Permanent assessment of the land This was accordingly done by the issue of the Notification of 1803 and the Proclamation of 1805, which may justly be described as our Magna Charta (Cheers) It is thus amply demonstrated, Gentlemen, that what was intended to be granted, and what was granted, was a Permanent Settlement fixing the principles and rates of assessment in perpetuity and for ever Nay, the assessment then fixed still continues analtered according to the letter and spirit of the pledge, and the rites then fixed are applied even at the present day when waste lands are newly brought under cultivation even though prices have since risen high at vary ing periods. This is accounted for by the fact that in fixing the commutation value in 1805 a very wide margin was left for any probable rise in prices for some succeeding years Nevertheless, and in the face of the pledge already made. Government has determined to revise the existing assessment in spite of the repeate I protests and representations of the people and a scheme of settlement is at the present moment awaiting the orders of the local Government I may add that according to this scheme the existing revenue in three typical Taings of the District under wet dry, and garden lands will be increased by 95 per cent , 49 per cent and 83o per cent respectively, resulting in an aggregate increase of over 15 lakhs whilst their present revenue is only 101 lakhs (Shame)

It is also noteworthy that Government has adopted these rates of assessment as the basis of calculation in permanently disposing of lands ecchetied to the State, and that several capitalists have, relying on the said Proclamation, invested large sams of money in effecting improvements on lands which at the time of revision it is intended to tax in violation of all rules on the subject

Under such circumstances I have no hesitation in christerining the present attempt to revise the existing taxes as a gross breach of faith, and an illegal and unwarranted interference with the rights of private property (O'cere) low will thus see Gentlemen, that is her as my own district is concerned, Government, in the first instance is not only guilty of the charge of not extending the concession so humanely granted by the Sopreme Government fully a generation ago, even though all the conditions have been exist-factorily fulfilled, but is committing a sadder breach of faith in revolving a Permanent Stillement already granted (Shame)

Gentlemen, let us grant for a moment for the sike of argument that the Settlement already made in 180, is not a permanent and unalterible one. Then the question arises whether the time his not arrived for extending to our district the concession of a permanent fixture of land-time in pursannee of the policy adopted in the Despatches of 1802 and 1805. It is manifestably view to the the Malther district satisfies all the conditions necessary to justify the introduction of a Settlement in perpetuity. Since than four fifths of the cultivable area is under cultivation, as the latest statistics prove, and all the main Rulway lines and feeders have been completed or are under construction with every prospect of completion before the settlement of the district to will there ever be any such works. (Hear, hear)

If car that most of what I have told you now refers particularly to my district Mahabar, and my only explination for so doing to, as I have conclusively shown, that in this particular case Government is revoluing a Permanent Settlement already granted I have already told you, in common with the previous speakers on the subject, how beneficial it is to fix the land tax in perpetuity and forever. No one can deriv that it is calculated to accelerate

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Mada Virbana Raja

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the development of the resources of India and to ensure in the highest de role the welfare and contentment of all classes of Her Maresty's subjects. Its advantages has a without doubt been considered sufficiently important to have justified menering the risk, if any of the loss of a prospective revenue, to say nothing of the security to property which it unmestionable offerels Hheerel

For these reasons I have much pleasure in supporting the important a rongstion now before you which I trust you will manimonaly adopt (Loud Cheers) We C V Narny -Wr President and Brother Dolerates, following my learned pr

decessors in the matter of this Resolution, the proposi r, the seconder and the supporters of this sadiv needed flesolution at would be superfluous on my part to venture any further remarks ad vocating its enthusiastic adoption. The heart strongly hears in every bosom, and areas every one to at least open his line and after such lew words, as that there commended to your kindest appreciation. I had from the Central Provinces, and as duty demands at Longhite speak at least a few words to show to you Goutlemen, how bully we are could treated in the Control Provinces in respect of this Resolution. In the Central Provinces within the past four decales there have been three wettlements. In within we have had during the last two settlements a fixity of duration that was 30 years at a time . but most such during the present scittlement, most astonishingly, and, I must say most onwarmintably they are going shamefully to reduce the firsty of tenure from thirty years (Shame) They are going but kwards to twenty and fifteen, instead of progressing, when according to the time of civilisation we ought to be going onwards rather than backwards Probably there are a few of the a ster Provinces re presented here who are in the same category as my own province—that is even if the asacesment and the tax had surpassed the human conception because the Government does not think thats honorable duty to pry into the secrets of the resources of this country, set, at a most hanbazard sten, it goes on to assess according to its whims. My prosume is taxed at the rate of 65 per cipt , though you know and you fully know according to Lord Ripon's despatches, that whenever there must be a permanent bettlement, it must not be more than fifty per cent but in our backward province, our tax comes to 65 or 70 per cent So it is also a shameful andertaking on the part of Government not to consult the comforts or the convenience of each A word or two, if I am within my limits I wish to my in right to the amendment of my friend Capt Bannn (Hear, hear) THE PRESIDENT -I hat is not of order as the amendment has fallen through

MR NAIDU -I have been specially asked by my framils to express on their behalf

the views of the rest of the Presidency in regard to the sine diment THE PRESIDENT - No no Yan must not dial with that

Mr. Nation -1 yield to your dictum and proceed. Gentlemen, I have nothing fur

Ma Pates Paci PILLA

ther to add than to recommen I the Resolution to your nu mimous accest time (Cheers) Mr. Petra Paul Pilla - Wr. President and Brother Delegates I had the honour of moving this very resolution at the Congress held at Labore last year and to be the seconder of the same resolution concerning the same question of permanent settlement in the Congress held at Allahabad the vear before last. With mt r peating the remarks that I made on the previous occasion, I would canfine myself to the consideration of the arguments addinged by the opponents of the permanant Settlement Among the opponents, we have that conspicuous personage Sir William Hunter There are three important arguments addiced by the opponents of the Permanent Settlement and by those who would undo the Settlement already granted to certain estates in the Madras Presidency and the estates in Bongal Here I would correct the meanprehension of some of the previous speakers who spoke as if there were no Permanent Settlement in this part of India, on the contrary, there are extates whose area is somewhere about thirty thousand square miles under a l'ermanent Settlement granted is

1802 The three arguments adduced by the opponents of the Permanent Settlement are, firstly, that it is unjust to tax one part of the Presidency more than the others, secondlyand on this point we have a note by Mr Dadabhai Naoron (Cheers)-that a permanency of tenure which deprives the State, that is the community, of the benefit of the anearned incre ment caused by the action of the community and not by any action of the landlord, is now being most energetically contested, and, thirdly-as was urged upon the introduction of the Proprietary Estates Village Service Bill into the Madras Legislative Conneil-that Govern ment is instified in imposing laws for the good of the country, which the Zemindars are bound to accept even to the extent of paying the taxation introduced in addition to the taxation fixed at the time of the Permanent Settlement. These are the three important arguments, that I would consider With regard to the rate of taxation, according to the correct statements of the Court of Wards who have the accurate and correct accounts of the estates under their management, the merage income of an estate under the management of the Court of Wards is 31 8 per cent of the gross income. Now we find that the collection of rept or revenue while the estates are under the management of the Court of Wards is much larger than when the estates are managed by the proprietors themselves without the advantage of having the Officials to collect the revenue, again we find that the local cess is levied to the extent of 61 per cent to enhance the land revenue-you may call it local cess or any other cess, but it is a direct enchancement of land revenue-and so we find that on the whole the land revenue paid by Zemindars in this Presidency may be put down at 50 per cent of the grose income. In Bengal, from what I hear, the average peulcush in proportion to the gross income is 22 per cent, and with local and Public Works cesses, and arrears of nucollected rents the percentage may be 40, and so we find that the permanently settled estates after all are not lightly taxed. At the time of the Permanent Settlement, the Bengal Estates were assessed at the rate of 90 per cent of the gross income, whereas in Madras the percentage is 66 per cent of the net income , on these estates the rate of assessment was very enormous at the beginning of the century, eo much so that on account of the mability of the Zemindara to pay a large proportion of the revenue, coveral Zemindaris were sold or resumed, and so we find that these were not lightly assessed In maintaining the contrary Sir William Hunter is not quite consistent In reading his famous work "What England has done for India," I met with the statement that the rate of taxation of the ryot is 7 per cent on his income Being a small ryot mysolf, l was astomshed to find the data upon which Sir W. Hunter came to this monstrous conclusion From my experience as a ryot, I paid 50 per cent for some years and in others more than cent per cent of the income I derived. I had lately to write to the Tahaildar of my place regarding certain difficulties owing to which for the past five years I had not been able to derive a single grain out of my lands. Difficulties have been created in the cultivation of my land, so that after all, the rate of assessment of Zemindari estates is not so light as it is misrepresented Are the ryots of the other provinces complaining of the comparatively light taxation of the Bengal and Madras Zemindars? I have never come across any complaint made by the ryot population. On the contrary, they find it a calamity and a national grevance of the gravist character that large proprietors should become extinct and ruined. and not only that, but that the Zemindars, Landfords, and Nativo Princes should become the refuges or asylums of the distressed population in British territories by a large patronage and by liberal charity With these remarks I resume my seat (Hear, hear)

Mr S A SANIVATE ITER—Mr President Gentlemen and Brother Delegates—I may now called upon to support the proposition which has been moved so ably, and sconded so exhaustively by gentlemen from Bengal and Bombay and sopported hi my honorable friend Mr K Kalyarasındram Iyer, of Tapper I come from the same district, and I have the same greennee to complain of—namely, the recent Settlement that has been introduced into the district of Tapper. The ground has been travered so ably and so exhaustively by my friend, that I shall be tiring you by going over that same ground, so I shall content myself

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MR PETER PAUL PILLAI

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Mr. S A SamiNATHA ITER.

by referring to a few facts which have not been touched upon by him I have been, from the very commencement of the settlement operations in that district connected with the movement of the people objecting to the mode of operation curried on by the Settlement Deputment (Cheers) From time to time the l'iniore People's Association was watching the manner in which the Settlement operations were carried on by the Settlement Department The defects were pointed out, but the gentlemen who pointed out those defects, because they happened in a manner to be connected with the Government Department, were, in fact, found fault with for pointing out the real defects in the operation of that depictment (Shame) Because they are Government Officials, surely they do not lose the right which a ryot possesses to object to the mode of operation of the Settlement Department (Hear, hear) They have two capacities, one the official capacity and the other the capacity of Mirasidars When there is a real grievance why should their mouth be shut? Why should they not honestly complain of the way in which their lands are being assessed by the Settlement Department? (Cheere) When the Settlement Commissioner recommended an micrease of nearly 181 lakks of Rupees over the 41 lakks now lovied from the people of Tanore, loud complaints were made And what was the result? The Settlement Commissioner hunself had to revise his figures, had to reduce the amount by 4 lakhs Not satisfied with this, not satisfied with the way in which this 14; lakhs was arrived at, memorials were prepared and submitted for consideration to Government, with the result that the Board of Revenue who had to consider the proposals of the Commissioner thought it advisable to cut down the figure by 2 lakhs They arbitrarily cut it down by 2 lakhs, and no consideration was paid to our representation-I say so advisably, hecause had all our representations been fully considered, instead of 2 lakks they must have cut down 7 lakhs (Hear, hear)

We do not at all grudge an increase of revenue to Government, we are loval subjects of Her Gracious Majesty, we are willing to come forward and help Government by contributing our mits when there is really a demand for increase of taxation (Cheers) Gentlemen, you will find that, not satisfied with the Board's decision, we waited upon His Excellency Lord Wenlock in a deputation, and a most gracious and kind hearing was granted to us by His Excellency Our grievances were listened to with an amount of patience which almost surprised as Many of our complaints were considered, not only by his Excellency, but also by the first member of Connell, Mr H L Stokes, to be well founded, and our expectations were raised We thought that the 141 lakhs recommended by the Board of Revenue would he cut down by 7 lakhs as we were justly entitled to expect such a reduction Hopes were created in us and not vainly, hecause they fully realised that all our recommendations were founded upon solid facts, and if a decision had been given then and there. the result would have been favourable to us Time was taken, a month elapsed, and Settlement and other officers had a conference with His Excellency (Shame), with the result that instead of giving us what we were justly expecting at the hands of Government, we were given a lakh (Shame), a mere pittance, not sufficient to alleviate the misery of millions of people that were subjected to it (Shame) That is the way we are dealt with under the Government of His Excellency Lord Wenlock, whom we expected to deal with agricultural matters in a liberal spirit, judging from the address which he deliv ered when he was appointed Governor of Madras Another point I wish to touch upon in this connection is this One argument advanced in favour of the increase now imposed npon the Tanjore Mirasidars is, that the price of land in the Tanjore district has risen, and is rising , while the fact that the people are even now willing, with the increase that the Goverament has imposed upon land revenue, to pay a high price for the lands in their district is said to be an indication of the productiveness of the soil of their district I say " No | ", emphatically "No" Tanjorians as a class are a home loving people, a people who are almost all of them agriculturalists, they have no other means of investing their cap tal, they cannot take, and will not take, to other modes of investment, they have a predilection for investing their money in landed property and though the profit they derive from landed property is very small, they are still prepared to pay high prices for the land in their district. That is the only reason why high prices are still kept up not with standing the prohibitive assessment that Government has imposed on that district If, therefore the Permanent Settlement were to be introduced all through India and if Tanjoic should be une of thuse favoured districts to which this would be extended it will be a great blessing which will be conferred not only on the Tanjorians but also on the other districts subject to this same Ryotwan Settlement It is not Tanjore alone that has been subjected to this jevising of assessment. Government having found that they have made a profit, and a very great profit indeed by the resision of assess ment in the langure district have extended their Settlement Operations to the unfortunate people of Trichinopoly, and from Prichinopoly they intend to proceed to Malabar and then to Godavery and Kristna, and then to Madnra and Timevelly We fully sympathise with the inhabitants of those districts Because Tanjore was first settled, and a large increase has been derived it is not right that Government should think that the other districts are equally capable of hearing the increase which Tanjore has been thought capable of bear ing Under these circumstances I most heartily support the proposition that has now been brought before you for your acceptance and I trust that with one unanimous voice, you will accept this Resolution (Cheers)

ME SARVAKUTLIKAT then addressed the meeting in Malayalam his remarks meeting with frequent appliance

THE PERSHERT —The second resolution has been properly moved seconded and supported. I now put it to the meeting. Those in favour inf this Resolution say "Aye" (Yours, All All).

The Resolution was passed mammously

THE PRESIDENT -- I now call upon Vo Seymour Keay to move the next Resolution

. Me Sermore Kear M.P., who was received with enthusiastic cheers and — Mr President, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen I do not think that there is any apology necessary on my part in coming before you to day for the purpose of moving a resolution which I must say from my own point of riem, and after the large amount of study which I have devoted to the subject I consider to be not of less importance than any other resolution which is on the programme of this vast assembly (Cheers) The resolution which I have to propose is as follows —

That this Congress concurring in the views set forth in previous Congresses affirms—
That fully fifty millions of the population a number yearly necessing are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation and that in every decade, several millions actually persish by starvation and humbly urges once more that immediate steps be taken to remedy this calamitous state of affirms.

I have said, dentlemen, that I think no apology is necessary, and I think that you will all admit that this is the case when it is remembered that we are at this moment speaking on behalf of the people of an I mpire consisting of no less than two hundred and eighty seven millions of human beings, that that Empires spoplation artically consists of no less than 4th so for the minhabitate of the white British Empires, and that the population with which we are now dealing constitutes in less than 4th part of the entire human race itself (Hear, hear) I say that during \$2 years of close presonal intercourse with the masses of the scople in this country, the conviction has long ago been forced upon me that, although, as we know, we have in the Government of India a great Government, which has done much good, and which no doubt dearnes to do a great deal more, yet at the same time it is at this

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a census of thirty inverige families seattered throughout the whole of thirt populous distinct and he found that these thirty families con inted of 178 pers in . He found that the gross represents the value of 18 2 800. He also found that for seed and for hird labor and for 20 per cent interest to the issuer, there his been paid by these 173 persons the amount of 18 600, and that the rent which this had to pay amounted to 18 1,000. The result was that deducting the 18 1,000 from the 18 2,800, the behance for the sistenance of these, villagers and their families amounted to 18 1,120. In other words the 173 persons, man, woman and child lied aced an amount of 61 ripeess a year for their support (Shame). Well then, it may be a-sled, how did these people live at all? I shall not need to answer that question to you. (Hear, hear)

You well know that the capital of the country is being caten into, and that the usure is being as plaid to, because the ground will not give sufficient sustenance, and now the usure is mereties demands have to be satisfied in addition to the demands of Government. But there was another small item to add to the Rs 61 per head a year. This pains taking saff scalous officer gove further, and gives us particulars showing how this additional item was made up. It was due to the fact that these 17d persons had been able to get work outside the land, and by that ad other mans had enrold a sum of Rs 7.00 mongst them altogether. This officer actually 3 owed how this Rs 7.00 was made up, and here are some of the items recorded up his report which you delegates from India generally will well understand. It is actually from some a such as these that the revenues of a great Government

· ·	Ra	4	r	
Weaving 5 pieces of cloth.	1	0	0	
Salary paid to the village watchman	\$	U	0	
Sold the skin of a dead bullock	2	0	0	
Sold litter during the year	3	0	0	
Made 10 woollen hinnkets	10	0	0	
Received a present from his brother	50	0	0	
Earned by everying palanquins	3	0	-	
ms a town town and distinct the Vist	7	•	-	
t to the same old receives for lit labour (per day)	C	ŀ	0	
Wif acts as midwife to th village, and I rings the husband ()	r			
annom)	e	6	U	

course, first of all there is the cultivator or farmer, then the farm labourer, the petty dealer, the village artisan, the domestic servant, and the corn dealer. Major Anson puts down in this table of his, the amount of sustenance that each of these classes gets during the year. In the first place he starts from what is the official basis of calculation. He starts on the datum that 2 lbs weight of dry gram or pulse daily is the immimum required for the healthy life of an adult engaged in agricultural pursuits-the famons 2 Bs ration in fact (Laughter). The cultivator, he proves, gets 4ths of 2 lbs , that is, he is at the top of the tree The cultivator himself does not get 2 lbs, but he gets only ?ths thereof in the whole year, even during years of plenty The farm labourer gets 2ths of 2 lbs -that is, in other words, he has to carry on his laborious calling upon less than balf of the 2 lbs ration. The day labourer is better off, he gets ards of 2 lbs The petty dealer is a little richer still and gets \$2 ths of 2 lbs The village artisan and the domestic servant actually revel in luxury upon 2 Ibs of dry grain a day (Laughter) The corn dealer who is a single person is actually the only living individual in the whole district who gets more than 2 lbs of dry grain a day. All the others are actually maintaining bare life upon 2 lbs or wasting away in slow starvation upon less than 2 lbs And even this result is shown to have been arrived at after throwing into the gulf every carning of every man, woman and child who lives upon the soil

The last picture which I shall give you consists of a most important piece of evidence furnished by the Chief Commissioner of the Fyzahad district, with a population as I have said of 1,000,000 That officer refers the Government to their own Education Reports They had been talking about educating the people, and he refers them to their own Education Report to show that education is absolutely impossible in any shape or form amongst these cultivators or their families, for the simple reason that every child, from the time it begins to toddle, has to be sent out to work in the fields, for the purpose of adding to the attenuated incomes of the parents, in the manner I have described (Shame) He declares that if a cultivator in his district were to send his child to school, he would simply lose 30 per cent of the whole of the little income on which he manages to keep hunself and his family from the verge of starvation The Commissioner then adds his own opinion. He says "It has been "calculated that about 60 per cent -mark, 60 per cent -of the entire population are snnk in "such abject poverty that, unless the small earnings of child laboor are added to the general "stock by which the family is kept alive, some members of the family must starve" Then he sums up in these words "With the bulk of these people education would be synonymous with starvation" This outspoken officer goes still further, and refers the Government of India to a published work of reference, the Oudh Gazetteer. He shows from that work that no less than one half of the population of those districts are compelled to sell themselves into a sort of slavery, merely for the purpose of getting food. I think the bond slave contract is called " Sewitk " No doubt the Delegates from Oudh will be able to understand it. I will quote to you the words of this distinguished officer on this woeful subject. He says "As every bond slave is a bankrupt, and as the bond slaves form a large proportion of "the whole, it may be guthered that the agricultural classes are now deeply embarrassed "The only motive for entering into the bond slave contrict is want of food and that "this is an increasing motive is shewn by the increasing number of bond slaves". He then adds, "every second man met with in the fertile plains of Hisampur is now a bond slave." What then does this outspoken officer proceed to do? At the close of his letter to the Government, he calls upon them to do exactly what we in the House of Commons last Angust called upon the Government to do, and what I hope this Congress will now call upon the Government to do This Commissioner of Fyzabad closes, I say, by begging and praying of the Government of India to appoint strong Commissions so that further enquiries may be made and a prompt line of action mapped out. How did the Government of India receive these statements from these Officers, which I have been giving to you? How did they receive the recommendation to appoint Commissions and to map out a line of action which was so earnestly

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MR SEYMOUR

put before them by their own distinguished officer? Did they proceed to appoint strong Commissions to investigate the state of the affairs of these suffering millions? No, they collected all these papers together, they labelled them "confidential" in red letters, and they buried them in the cellars under the Government Offices in Calcutta. (Shame) in the hopes that they would never he heard of more I have shewn you, therefore, that the Government first tried to mislead these officers, and that when they failed in doing so and when they got replies which they did not want, they absolutely refused to carry out the recommendations of their own officers and burked the whole thme in the most dishonest manner. Is it not scandalous that in this country, with the publicity which is enjoyed in regard to official matters generally the misery of millions of our fellow anbiects should he held to be an official secret at all? I want to know who it should not rather be proclaimed non the housetons, for the very durpose of ensuring that effective steps should be taken to remove the cause and to remedy the evil Yet what happens? Simple terror series them whenever they here us in Parliament standing up and demanding a Parhamentary or any other Lind of enquiry I shall prove this med conclusively, I think, by giving you what I consider to be n most damning indictment of the whole system of suppression of evidence hy one of thou own leading officials, no less a man than Sir Louis Molet who was then permanent Under Secretary of State for India did he say about this question of arranquiry into the economic wants of India? In an official minute, which is published in an appendix to the Famine Blue Books, you will find a quotation in which he makes this most extraordinary revolution against his own fellows in the Secretary of State's Council He says "If there is any one thing which is wanting in say "investigation of Indian problems, it is an approach to trustworthy and generally accepted "facts Now I am compelled to say that since I have been connected with the India Office I "have found a strong repnguance to the adoption of any adequate measures for the collection "of a comprehensive and well digested set of facts" Then he concludes with this remarkable statement-"Tho only occasion on which I had the misfortune of encountering the vehement "opposition of some members of the Council was in my indivocacy of Dr Forbes Watson's "proposals for an Industrial Survey of India" Why was it, I ish, that Sir Louis Malet found that all his colleagues monand together against him in the India Council for the purpose of resisting an Industrial Survey of India? Why, I ask, do they resist it still? There is only one answer It is simply this -They well know that such an Industrial Survey would show such an appalling picture of poverty and misery now existing under their administration, that upon the revelation of the heart rending suffering of scores of millions of helpless human beings the British nation would rise up as one man and overturn their entire system (Lond Cheer) Well, Gentlemen, as I have already and, I quoted some of these facts last August in the House of Commous It was obvious that Sir Richard Temple, who was sitting opposite me, intended Accordingly, I challenged him directly to traverse these terrible to follow me in the debate facts and I said that when I sat down if he got up and gave even any colonrable reply, or any fair or reasonable reply, to the facts which I had adduced, he would do the most unusual thing that an official apologist had done I challenged him to do this, but I at the same time added that I knew that he would not (langhter, Well, thus conjured, he followed me in the debate, but what did be say? I call your special attention to this, because I think it proves at all events, that in the Honse of Commons on that occasion we did score one considerable point against men whe, like him, used to be trn ted by the House of Commons, because for sooth I they had worn their official spectacles so long that they never failed to curry them about with them in their pockets I will tell you what Sir Richard Temple was driven to any and I will give you his precise words He said, in direct and immediate answer to the state ments that I had made, "Those sorts of calculations are not worth the paper they are written "on, or even the breath with which they are uttered | The officials put an arbitrary figure for "the supposed produce of land and then put their own value upon st." Mark the word "officials" They are all high officers of Government who served along with him as his own colleagues. He further says "The whole data are all suppositations, and then they draw out "deductions which are impossible, what is the use of my detaining the House by going into "such indications figures as these? These supposed facts are not facts at all. All that the "Honorable Gentleman can possibly know is that there are so many people and that there are so many nerve of ground. These figures are simply tabular statements of particular theories "I should say they are in fact shams, delisions, and suares which are presented to the House." (Shame)

"I should say they are in fact shams, delisions, and snares which are presented to the House" (Shame) Here indeed was a curious rôle that I had to take up I feur, Gentlemen, that the Chairman will be sounding his gong (Voices "Go on," "Go on,") I would not detain you a minute but for the fact that I have a few important things yet to tell you. However I shall be very brief. Here was I comman forward as I now come forward in defence of the characters of these honorable men, these high European officials of the Govern ment of India I came forward and said then what I say now, I denied then, and I deny now, that there is anything of the character of exceptional dishonesty among any class of European servants of Government (Cheers) My belief 14, and I distinctly say as I said then, that Indian officers are neither better nor worse than ordinary human beings. (Laughter) When an ordinary human being has no check upon him, there is no doubt that that human heing will not always show the hest side of his character. But here was an official apologist, Sir Richard Temple, actually coming forward on the floor of the House of Commons itself, and saying that these his own colleagues and fellow servants were nothing but "Frands" and "Cherts" and "Shams" I niterly repudiate such an outrageous dortrine I make every allowance for the shortcomings of our Indian officials. Their position is one of great responsibility but with little clieck, as I have said, and it being such, they are not likely always to show the hetter side of their nature. But you must remember their temptations. They have no inducement to turn aside and investigate as independent men, like you or I may have They have the temptation to do the contrary Their position is this, their official table groups under pleasant and costly yeards and as they sit there at the feast, they have no inducement to look aside to see whether or not there is a skeleten presiding at the hanquet, they have no temptation to see if there is any mystic hundwriting on the wall, on the contrary they look only at the drahes that are before them and they go on enjoying them to the best of their hearts' content (Cheers) But in all this what I want to point out to you is this, that there is no exceptional dishonesty whatever. It is true that the mass of optimist officers do deceive their own Government, but that is only because they are themselves first thoroughly deceived They are, as you know, transcendent optimists by their training in the Service from their youth up, and as such they are inclined to close their eyes to the despair and to the disaster which we, and all independent observers, see in perhaps the not far off future Gentlemen, I speak in a most responsible position in the presence of all you delegates, and I say from close personal observation of the agricultural classes in India that it is useless for anyone to deny, that biting adversity is now eating into the heart of the great mass of the agricultural population As the struggle for life becomes harder and harder, a deep and sullen sense of wrong is stealing throughout the length and breadth of the land. It is not the result of any single incident. I can certify with all sureness that it is nothing of the nature of race hatred or antagonism of any kind whatsoever What is it then? It is the noiseless but ever increasing growth of gradually accumulating pangs. It is the embitterment caused by the steady advance of pinching poverty when the daily toil becomes more incessant and yet the out-turn becomes less and less every year from the over-cropped fields, when the little savings, hoarded perhaps for two generations, have to be dng up from the floor of the mud but and handed over to the Revenue officer, when the scruty meal becomes scantier, when the

hitle condiment eaten with the race or the pulse has to be intermitted, when the bangle on the arm of wife or buby has to be taken off and sold, and its proceeds paid over to the Revenue Officer (Shāme), when the marriage of the daughter has to be postponed until the Second Day.

Resolution III

Poverty of India.

Mr. Sermour Keat Second Day
Resolution III
Poverty of India

Ms Seymour Keat moncy lender can be induced to advance this wherewithed It is the sense of wrong and injustice folt, when the breed winner is taken away from his home and imprisoned in the Civil Jail It is the exasporation of a runned family when the holding is confiscated for arrears of land tax, and when its occupant from that how descends in the secret scale, as a conclusion. The only hope for India hies in bringing the real facts of this position before the English Parliament and people (Hear, lear, and Cleers), who I assure you, have not at this moment the slightest conception of the real state of things. Once inform them of the truth, and I say, and I say it with all assurance, that the great lent of the English nation will grant you both speedy and effective remedy. (Loud and long continue) of there)

THE PRESIDENT -We shall now adjourn for half an hour

The Congress re assembled at 3 45 1 m

THE PRESIDENT -1he third resolution will be seconded by Mr. Nundv

MB NUNDI

ME NUMBY -Mr President and Brother Delegates, after the able and exhautive manner in which the honorable member who had charge of this resolution has dealt with this subject, I am sure you will not require a lengthy epeech from me to commend the resolution to your acceptance Such an army of facts and figures has been placed before you that I am eare they will carry conviction to jour minds, that the condition of the rand population of India 18 indeed desperate, and that it is high time that something be done for them by the Government of Iudia I shall not trouble you with any further statistics, but I shall confine myself to a few facts having special reference to the provinces I come from namely the North-West Provinces I am sorry I have not got the last Administration Report of the Government of the North West Provinces I tried my hest to get it, but I could not I would have read a few passages from it From that you would have come to the con consion either that the speaker who has just addressed you was romancing or that the Administration Report considerably indulged in romance itself. Here of course I do not profess to give the very vords The purport of the Report was this -That the condition of the raral population of the North West Provinces had of late years considerably improved Sir Charles Crosthwaite, who began his career in the North West Provinces, and after a service of considerable length left for the Central Provinces, and then for Burmah, returned to his Province about a year and a half ago In the fi at Report that he issued he congraintated the people in very strong and unmistakable terms that during his absence of twelve years or so, their condition had considerably improved Now, Gentlemen you might ask how it is that statements relating to the same people should differ so strangely as does the account furnished to you by the previous speaker and that of the Admin stration report of the Government of the North-West Provinces I submit that it is not that the Lucilemant Governor has deliberately placed on record facts or opinions which he does not believe, but that his opportunity for ascertaining the real state of things, is very scanty indeed and not very often availed of There are two sources from which he can obtain informat on-one from personal observation, and the other from reports sub mitted to him by his subordinate officers Collectors and Commissioners When he is on tour if he likes, he has certainly an opportunity for ascertaining what the position of the people is But you know, Gentlemen, what the tour of the Governor of a Province is Surrounded as he is by officials, from the Commissioner down to a Pas at is almost impossible for him to come in contact with any of the people It is very seldem indeed that he is able to make a personal visit to the villages and make a personal enquiry He is entirely in the hands and under the gudance of officials Certainly in some places where he goes he has addresses given to him by members of the District Board or by members of the Municipal Com mittees But what do these contain? They are drawn up under the inspiration and under the direction of the official chairman, and simply set out the views of the officials themselves (Cheers). My firefield and myself from the North West Provinces were rather amused when we heard the previous speaker quote the remarks of the Commissioner of Fyzabad Well, within the last year and a half Sir Charles Crosthwaite has been making a tour in certain portions of Outh. He visited several places in the Fyzabad division, and in all those places addresses were given to him drawn up hy members of the District Board, and by members of the District Board, and by members of the Instruct Board, and by members of the first that the country was becoming daily more and more properous, and that there was absolutely no ground whatever for grewances of any kind. The Leatenaut Governor on several occasions made a reply congratulating the people upon the fact that the country was growing prosperous and that they were able to uppreciate and recognise the real improvement in the condition of the country was becoming more and more properous error de-

Another source of information of which Governors can usual themselves is the reports furnished to them by the Collectors and Commissioners Now, Gentlemen, you know there are District Officers and District Officers There are some of them, especially those of seven or eight years' standing, as unfortunately most of our Collectors are, who are, as we may call them, more or less shikaris. So long as they can get their shikar, they are absolutely indifferent to, and they will not trouble themselves about, any other matter. There is also what is called the easy going Collector, who thinks life too short for him to think of any thing beyond the daily routine of husiness. There is the ever calculating Collector who has his eyes on the Commissionership. He makes it a point as far as possible to give such an account of the people as he thinks will coincide with the views of the Government under which he is serving, and you know very well that any Government would look with great distrust upon any of its officers who tried to make out a state of things which did not coincide with their own views Those of my friends that come from the North West Provinces will know of a case which occurred in the time of Sir John Cooper where one of the District Officers persistently, and for a period of two years I helieve, submitted a series of reports commenting strongly on the administration of the country, and on the condition of the people What was the result? The result was that he was sent away from the North West Provinces to the Central Provinces! (Shams ' Shams') with a stigma on his name, and with a distinct understanding that he was never to become a Commissioner, although, I think, he was one of the cleverest European officers that ever came to this country So the District Officer never became pulka Commissioner Then again, Gentlemen, there are some officers who I am glad to say, are conscientions officers, and it is from the material offered by those officers that the previous speaker has quoted very largely Gentlemen, I am not going to quote any further statistics. But there are one or two quotations I should like to give-they are very short ones-relating to the North West Provinces, which will bear out the statement made by Sir William Hunter that nearly 40 millions of the people are on the verge of starvation and daily pass their lives with insufficient food. These reports sent by the Collectors were, thanks to the previous speaker, allowed to be published by the Government of India As they were sent in response to a confidential circular for a long time they did not see the light of day I will just quote to you two paragraphs One is about the province of Oudh which is now under the administration of the Lieutenant Governor of the North West Provinces Speaking of Oudh Mr H C Irwin of the Bengal Civil Service says The oreat evil of rural Oudh is * * * the insufficiency of the produce of the land to main-"tup the population in comfort, after defraying rent and cost of cultivation. While this "18 80. of what use is it for Government to devote its energy and its resources to anything "but direct action on the sources of the evil While the milhons suffer from chronic hunger it "would be as easy to make a pyramid stand upon its apex as to regenerate them by orna-"mental legislation or by anything but putting them beyond the ceaseless pressure of "physical want" And then Mr Irwin winds up with the warning, "Let not the latter end

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Ms A Nundy

"of our rule in Oudh so wholly forget the heginning as to perpetuate and stereotype the "degradation of the onlivators, to remedy which we professedly nunexed the country Tie "Mining should have been treated as an interruption of our policy, charged indeed with griss "lessons worthy of boug laid to heart, but not as a new revolution changing its aims and "objects Lett not be said of us by the future instorian, that with all the incens in our hand "objects Lett not be said of us by the future historian, that with all the incens in our hand "of raising the pessantry of Ondh from the squalid poverty and debasement which for cent "ries past have been their lot, we iquobly suffered them to perish for mere want of enactment "that they should be saved?"

Then the Collector of Shajahanpar writes to this effect —

"The poorer classes eat only the coursest and cheapest grams, and can ele outs "subsistence so long as these are procurable at not less than 14 seers to the Rupee"

Mr Holderness writing of the Pilibhit District says -

"That the landless labourer's condition is not all that could be desired. The ninted "cearnings of a man, his wife and two children cannot be put at more than three linger "per month. When prices of food grains are moderate work regular, and the health of the "household good, this income will enable the family to have one good meal a day, to keeps "thatohed roof over their head, to hey cheap cotton clothing and occasionally a thin "hlanket. The small enlivator is elightly better off but he has not always enough to cater "stifficently warm clothes."

"Mr Harnington, Commissioner of Fyzabad, maintains that the assertion that's
"large proportion of India suffers from a dailg insufficiency of food is perfectly true as
"regards a varying but always considerable proportion of the population for a considerable
"part of the year in the greater part of India."

I think, Gentlemen, these quotations, coupled with those which we have already heard from the previous speaker, show from official lips what the actual condition of the rural population of India 13 But it might be said that these reports were submitted in the year 1882, and that since then perhaps there has really been a Change for the better I will just state some facts which will show that it could not possibly be that then condition has improv ed since 1882 The settlement is now going on in the North West Provinces I do not desire to say anything on the question of the settlement, but what I say is this -- that the re assessment has in some cases taken the form of an increase in the evenue from 50 to 100 per cent I know this from my own personal experience of the district in which I live, where it has been increased from 75 to 100 per cent This has naturally been followed by the Zemin dars trying to increase the rents of the tenants It would be impossible even for them to meet the Government demands if they did not morease the rent, and many of them have esserted that, were it not that Zemindaris were ancestral property, they would rather give them up than pay the present rate of assessment It cannot be said that within the last five years the settlement has contributed to the unprovement of the coodition of the rural population of the North West Provinces Then again, fifteen years ago, only in the large towns were there octron dates, but now, under the orders of the Lacutenant Governor, in almost every city with a popu lation of from four to five thousand, cesses have commenced to be level 1, and the cesses have been increased by 15 per cent I do not know what is the case in other Provinces, but I must say it is simply scaudalous as legards the nature of the articles on which this cass is levied Fuel that is brought in, grass, vegetables and all other things that are articles of consumption of the poor are made subject to these cesses That surely cannot contribute to any improvement in the condition of the poor Another fact—(here the President struck the good) One minute more and I shall have finished This matter will form one of the subjects of discussion later on The forest laws have been enacted in such a form that whereas ten or fifteen years hack the Zemindars and the Villagers were allowed to graze their cattle in the forests, now these have become close preserves. I now hear from the villagers that it is very difficult indeed to get pasture for their cattle. These laws within the last five years have contributed to make the position of the people more difficult. Then again, as you know, there is such a large export of corn from this country that of late years the prices have risen so high, especially in some districts of the North-West Provinces that whereas thirty years ago giain was being sold at 2 maunds periRupee, it is now sold at 22 scers per Rupee, while wheat which was sold at 11 manuals per Rupee, is now sold at 14 or 15 seers a Rupee Thus, while, on the one hand. the income of the people is being considerably diminished, on the other hand, there is a considerable rise in the price of the articles of consumption. I am warned that it is time for me to stop and so I shall stop here (Hear, hear)

Lala Murlidhar -M: President, Ladies and Gentlemen-During the five minutes Lala Murlidhar that are at my disposal I will make my last will and testament (Laughter). The question of the poverty of India has been discursed (Forces, "Londer, Turn this side ") Gentlemen. I am not going to distribute sweets I am crying like an old man for bread (Laughter) The poverty of my English language entitles me I think to speak on the poverty of India (Laughter) "It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven" If that precept were to be taken in its literal sense and accepted as Gospel truth, then I submit there is no happier country than India (Laughter) and no happier people than the Indian's (Applause) You should not the rich neonle of England for the vast treasures of wealth they have hoarded and the numerous troops they have kept, and you should thank heaven that you have heen placed to this desirable position, so that the doors of heaven have been opened to you while they have been shut against all the people of Europe (Laughter and Applause) Why should you complain of the poverty of India? If you are to he possessed of riches and wealth there would he fear of herne robbed by thieves and robbers (Laughter) You have been saved the trouble and anxiety of hoarding riches, and you should lead the life of anchorites in the jungle as prescribed by the Shastras, and you should be content and happy with leading that life (Laughter and Cheers) I deny that India is poor, on the contrary, I believe it is growing richer and richer every day. In support of my contention I will cite anthorities which will be convincing, and which will silence the authority of the hononrable Member of Parliament, the mover of this Resolution Gentlemen. I cite the authority of the great and mighty Rajah of Benares, Rajah Siva Prasad (Laughter and Cheers), the authority of the mighty Rajah of Bhinga (Laughter) the authority of the ex Nahob of Hyderabad (Laughter) When India abounds with Patriots like these (Laughter) how can you say that India is growing poorer? You will see unnumerable huts in place of a few palaces, you will see people crying by hundreds and thousands and millions Then what more do you want? (Laughter) Ion are rich in the immensity of your poverty (Laughter and Cheers) As for facts and figures why do you go to Sir William Hunter or any other anthority? Go and see those figures in houses and see their squalid condition, pale and miserable, (Hear, hear) with no food to eat and with no drink to take, and with no salt Well then, is not that the condition of anchorites and boly people? What do you want more? Why do you ask Government for this or that? (Laughter and Cheers

Does this all really represent the poverty of India? With all the delegates in their gala dress, dressed in Enropean style and having every article of clothing, can you possibly think that it lies in their mouths to say that their country is poor? Have not the officials undergone a considerable amount of sacrifice by throwing open the doors of heaven to you, compensating themselves therefore by the so called Exchange Compensation Allowance? (Loud and continued Cheers) Then they have disencumbered you of the beavier burdens, they have taken away the troubles from you, they have asked you to lead a quiet life, to have no concern in public affairs nor to be bothered about them in any way. You can sit at home and do your work. They have left their castles in England and are here as sojourners

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MR A NUNDY

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Poverty of India

Why should you complue when you lead such a happy and contented life? (Laughter) What! You are an ungrateful people (Louenter and Cheers) Really you are (Louenter) les ask to be admitted to the Government of your country? Why should you have all this bother ation? (Laughter) Numerous troops have been employed to protect von and your lives Numerous civil officials have taken the care off your shoulders. Then what do you want more? Latigation, which is a curse to the country, is eating into the very virils of the nation you want the Government to do this and that . you want to reduce taxation . you ere the India is poor Huve you done your share of the work , have you contributed surthing towark reducing the poverty of the country, have you established any manufactures, have you discarded burge in clothing , have you shown to the world that you are really feeling sol working for the noor? If you go to their houses and nirtike of their wretched food and he as they do, shevering with cold at midnight in those nuscrable huts with naked bodies, this you will feel the pinching poverty, then you will really feel the suffering of the neonle Untiyou place yourselves in the position of the poverty stricken people you will not be able to set that India is your mother-land, that the people are poor, and that you advocate their cause D) advocate their cause succeedy Pledge yourselves to squat rather on the bere ground than to send for chairs from Austria, three thousand nules away, which cost you Re 5,000 Actus practical patriots and show by your life that you truly an I sincerely feel for

done your wirk. (Cleers)

Gentlement, the time for my dissolution is at hand. (Langhter Vecces, Go on, Go ou)

One practical suggestion I would like to make to the delegate assembled in this angust hall
and that is, not realously, succeely and loyally active host is speciful manner, strive day and
inght to remove the dark portion that is dating into the wirds of the mation, feel suncerely
for the poor, treat them as your brethers, and discard all lixing. For laxury is not the share
of the poverty stricken people, it is only the abit no of the purple curried because they cannot hall hospitals, because they cannot hall hospitals, because they cannot hall hospitals, because they cannot
afferd to give my thing in charity, because they cannot hall hospitals, because they cannot
be dependently find without wealth and riches—to say our bisstrias, so say all the wise own
both in the East and West. (Quinco wealth by all lines tim ans, speud it on charity and on
the poor, and show by your words and deeds that you direally feel for the poor. (Hour
and Long continued Cheers)

the poor, then, the sympathy of all the poor and the rulers of the land shall be vours, and your names shall be placed th, instery, and God will be immensely pleased with you for hyung

BANG BISENGPADA CRATTERJIA

an I lowe continued Cheers) HARL BISHTUFADA CHATTERN -Mr Prendent Del gates and Gentlemen,-We all of us complain of the shortness of our lives, but the hyr minutes' life allotted to the supporter of a Congress resolution after the illustrious speak re who have preceded me seems to me to be unusually long Gentlemen, in rising to support this resolution I do not offer any apology for the hoar-eness of my voice, for has not a Congress delegate had to cry himself h sare over this very same subject from year to year since the first Congress met in Bombay in 188 . But the language of the prayer is the same, and we all know that we have got to regard our private every day of the year consisting of about the What then is the great question? The great question is, is India really impoverished? I answer the question is the aftermative and to do so I rely up in the testimony of great men who have cared to open their his and give us a bit of their minds. First of all, then, the idia was in the mind of Sir John Shore The next man who got the ilea was Mr John Bright. The next man was lord lawrence and then two ministers of the bever ment of huba, Sir I velyn Birnig and Sir Anckland Colsin. Then we also have the testin my of men like Sir William Hunter, Sir William Wed lirburo, and Sir Charles bliott of longid we also note that the Secretary of Stan for India, who may be styled the Czar of all the India, I as himself admitted in 1850 that there is paverty among the people of India In a thurdly mention, Genthemen the name of Mr Dailabhai Naoron (Cheer) The Government of In ha have stated in so many words that "there is evidence to show that in all parts of India there is a numerous population

"which lives from hand to month (Hear, hear), is always in debt, does not save, and has little "or nothing to fall back upon in bad seasons' Sir Charles Elbott of Bengal cays -"I do not " hesitate to sav that half of our agricultural population never know from year's end to year's end what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied ' Now, Gentlemen, this is direct evidence, and I might say, in the case of the Bengal Government direct ovidence coupled with the local investigation of what are officially called "tours" Gentlemen, it is said that a confes sion, a voluntary confession can bring home the guilt to an accused person. This is the evidence, Gentlemen of hostile witnesses and most unwilling witnesses. But this is not all The last remark comes from the head of a Government whose Commissioners can swallow their words as glibly as they swallow ice cream on a hot summer's day (Laughter, I refer to Mr Luttman Johnson and also to Mr Juite But even this is not all There is collaboration Have we not been told times without number that the annual average income per head of the popu lation of England is now £41, and that of Turkey £4? Lord Cromer's calculation including the rich as well as the poor, however incorrectly, sets it down in India at Rs 27, and Mr Dada bhai Naoron a sets it down at Rs 20 The Hongrable Member of Parhament Mr Seymour Keay, has stated to you that the average annual moome of certain men of Rampore and Ru Barelly is Rs 6 I will confine my remarks to a certain po tion of Bengal and will show by a rough calculation a similar result. The average labourer in Bengal (and I will confine my remarks to a certain quarter only having nothing to do with any interests inland) gets work for seven months of the year Taking his wages to be 3 annas per diem he gets annually, say, Rs 42 Taking rice at Rs 4 per maund, and taking his consumption to be a secr of rice a day we have Rs 36 II you deduct 30 from 42 the result is Rs 6, which is what was shewn by Mr Seymonr Keay And this is mileference to a single man Just fanoy to yourselves if he has a wife, and children, the doctor's bill the thatch to repair, and other necessaries of life to provide for! Bengal is not a gwden of Eden, and the labourers are not so many walking Adams (Laughter) He has to pay the cost of clothing too Now, Gentlemen we all know that many families in India have literally got to live upon one meal a day, and this, in a country where the land yields mything which can be desired. Is it too much, Gentlemen after this, to say that fully 50 millions of the people of India are on the very verge of starvation? Yesterday the President told you if I remember right that some years back the population of England was 15 millions and that now it is 38 millions while fully 40 million Indians (let me take the number of Sir W. Hunter not to mention that of Sir Charles Elhott) live on the very verge of starvation. You have heard of the recurring famines of Behar of Central India, of Madrus, and last though not least of Faridpur Gentlemen, is it then a wonder that there should be anch famines when so many people are literally living on the very verge of starvation? Everything was ready. The spirk of a bad season was wanted, and the whole thing burst into flame and the whole country put on the weird aspect of conflagration and of famine Gentlemen, now let us see what are the causes Well, it is not for me to narrate to you all the causes, but I should say that the first cause as stateouary income and increase of expenditure by leaps and bounds. Under this head by way of illustration, I would only mention Exchange Compensation Military Expenditure and adventitious shows to keep up the prestige of the British hon by such pageauts as the Delhi Durbar and the Lahore Durbar It seems to me it is the spectacle of a consumptive man in purple | Then I would mention other causes namely, the natural decay of indigenous manufactures, the abolition of the caste system or the division of industries then the poverty of the soil, the visitation of floods and famine, giving rise to eternal indebtedness and law suits, and then the costly system of foreign Government, which has been mentioned to you by other speakers. Last year when supporting the resolution for the separation of the executive and judicial functions of a Vingistrate Mr Mozumdar showed to you as clearly as possible that out of a saving of 230 lakhs (in a certain year), separation of these functions would, at the most, cost only some 7 lakhs And that has not been done for Bengal as we are told that it is not neces

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eary to seek any such remedy, fur does not Sir Chailes billiott tell us that Ganja and Opion are a highly concentrated food, and that the people should supply themselves with Kesur (Langler and Cheers)

The President struck the gong, and the speaker ceased speaking

Tax Persident -1 non call upon Mr A C Parthasarsthy Naidu, of Madras, to address the meeting in Teluga Permit use, Gentlemen, to apologue to you for not under standing the verniculars of this country. It is not the fault of any purents, for if they had had the lest used that I should one day he called upon to occupy this position, I am sure they would have given me quite a good education in the verniculars. (Laughter)

Mr. Parthasaruhy Kaida then spoke in Telugu aimd frequent bursts of applause

THE PPESIDENT -The resolution has now been properly moved, seconded and supnorted, let those whn are in favour of it hold up their hands (Voices All, All)

The Resolution was carried mammonsly

THE PERSONNEL -- Mr Norton will move the next resolution. An amendment has been put into my hands, but it is out of order

Mr Lardley Norton then came forward amid a perfect storm of applause At the point Miss Mulier (a Madras delegate, and the proposer of the amendment raised out of order) who had taken up a position on the platform, while the audieuce were cheering Mr. Norton attempted to address the assembly in disobethence to the President's ruling

Miss McLiff — I should like to know upon what grounds my amendment is ruled out of order (Interruption) I have a right to ask the Chairman to inform me upon what grounds he has ruled my amendment out of order (Uries of No! No! Chair! Chair!) I more an amendment—(Interruption)

The Presents —The amendment is out of order Go ou, Mr. Norton, please
Miss Muller —My brothere, I should like to know how my amendment is out
of order (Toices "Sit down, Sit down "Chair" Chair")

The Passiper -Gentlemen, sit down, please

MR E Approx -I do trust, Gentlemon, you will obes the Chair

Miss Maller then ittired from the platform and the indience resumed their seats

Mr. Lattier Nortos - Mr. President, the Resolution which I am asked to more runs as follows -

That this C ogress consults the abolition of the Conneil of the Secretary of State for India as at present constituted the necessary prehimmary to all other informs—and suggests—that is its place a standing committee of members of the House of Commons is appointed.

It is quite impossible for me, Sir, within the time at my disposal to pretend to deal adequately with the resolution which has been entrusted to my care. I shall, therefore, confine myself to eminiating a few only of those principles which I assume will commend themselves to those assembled here, quoting by way of illustration a five metances to support these principles and my arguments. It is impossible for in to-day to do more that touch lightly upon the marries of the needed reform and illustrate by a few significant in stances. India's present unfortunate plight and the necessity for the concession also demands Now, Sir, this particular reform, the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, is the numeral and necessary consequence of the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils which has given to the people of this country the first laste of a true though far off freedom, which has recognised, partially and with many pelous limitations, their right to elect their own representatives, and which has thereby conferred upon them the initial instalment of

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MR PAPPLET

a freer and a greater self government in the future which I trust, by their conduct of public affairs, they will justify the right to exercise and extend for the benefit of all mankind (Cheers) It is impossible non that there has been conceded to them-dimly perhaps and only partially, limited by restrictions which in my opinion are both foolish and unfair-the first fruits of their perseverance and self-denial, it is impossible for them to stand where they are, unless indeed they are prepared to surrender all those present and prospective privileges which invest hving with dignity, and make life itself something more noble, more worth having, than the mere patient existence of the hrute creation Do you wish to go back upon these eight years' struggles, and do you wish to give up all that we have fought for and won? Or do you wish to press forward to the light, believing that you yourselves, like most other sentient human heings, and like all other subjects of Her Majesty the Queen, are endowed with the right of making yourselves heard by the men of your own choice? If this, indeed, he your wish, as I believe, my friends, it is, and if you are not content to rest idle and indifferent where you are. if you are carnet in your resolve to make yourselves more and more fit for that greater and more generous franchise which must come to you in time, then you will agree with me that hand in hand with the re constitution of the Legislative Councils must come the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India (Cheers) At present we stand sandwiched be tween officials in India and officials in England (Cheers) I know not which are worse (Laughter) We are asphyxiated by the air in which we live, which permits us only with difficulty to think or do, or say (Cheers) Until you get rid of that asphyxiating medium until you break the last link which stands between you and your right freely to elect your own representatives, and to clothe them with the power, which the elected own in England and elsewhere, to make themselves heard effectively as your representatives in the Councils of the nation, and to regulate your taxation (Cheers) as well as your legislation, so long will you remain only partially enfranchised and only partially worthy either of the life which is yours by grift of God, or of the models which Great Britain has so long been training you to study, to mitate, to admire Surely you must agree with me-I venture, of course, to speak only for Madras with which I am personally connected—that butherto the re-constitution of the Legislative Councils has been followed by not unsuccessful attempts on the part of the Government which administers the rules nuder which these Conneils at, to limit unfairly the rights, the privileges and the utility of the members whom the people have nominated. They are not yet endowed with sufficient freedom of speech or of dehate, and it is in the hope that you will must upon having these greater and necessary rights conferred upon them, that I sak you to note for this proposition. I speak with personal interest on this point, because when I was last year at home I was in constant communication with Sir Wilham Wedderburn and our old friend Mr Hume, and both these gentlemen have commis stoned me to tell you that unless and antil you strengthen their hands by sending them the resolution which I propose, you will not be doing what in von hes to give energy and vitality to the nonular movement on the road to self government Why do we object. Sir to the India Council? We object for this simple reason that although its members are, possibly, imbued with the very best of intentions -mere intentions are not sufficient for practical politics -these same members are swayed by the same official interest, trained in the same official career steeped in the same official prejudices, as the men out here who, also with the best of intentions, are resolutely endeavouring to thwart and obstruct your moral, material and politi cal reforms Unless and until you sweep away the powerful association which, through all the intervening stretch of land and sea, is ever ready to help its fellow officials in this country. to condone their faults, to pander to their extravagance, to restrict your privileges, and to deny you your prerogatives the re constitution of the Legislative Councils must remain practically a sham. In speaking of Madras let me give one or two illustrations only-time will not permit me to do more-of the methods adopted by persons in whose hands the destiny of the local Legislative Council hes It seems to me-and I have followed the debates with consi-

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derable scrutiny and interest-that the Government of Madras has been seeking with some success to solve the problem of how best to thwart the efforts of on appresentatives to elicit information or to ando wrong. For this purpose the Government has arranged a system whereby, by a sub division of labour, nothing useful shall follow the action of the elected members (Laughter) In the first place we have the senior member of Council who, when ever a pertinent question is addressed to the Government is put forward to assume the position of a nucleenth century Delphic Oracle and to make himself even more unintelligible than (Laughter) When this gentleman has succeeded in this not over difficult task, we have the numon member of Council with his reputation for honesty, pushed forward to give a nount blank denial to statements which on investigation are discovered to be true (Laughter) We have the flat contradiction followed up by the admission of the truth in the interval between that meeting and the lext, in other words, we have the flat contradictions followed up by sa admission of their own maccuracy (Laughter, So far as I have seen, however, there is never any official apology tendered to the gentleman whose question has been met with a point blank denial However, the object of this particular illustration is this What do you suppose is the real meaning of what I may designate as these local impertinences? They would not exist if the gentlemen who give the answers, or rather did not give the answers, (I another) were not oute sure of the corded approved and support of the members of the Secretary of State's Council in England Let us look for one second at the constitution of that Council I co back to the very 1884-as a matter of fact the condition of things has not much changed since them-and I find that of the fourteen members seven are members of the Civil Service, five of the Arms, one a Barrister and one an English Banker Now, Sir, this particular Council is a Council the reason for whose existence lies in the fact that it is supposed to consist of members peculiarly qualified by long personal experience of India to know what the wants and desires of India really are what are its ambitious and what its capabilities Tho first thing that would strike a critic is the extraordinary feet that since 1858, when the Council came into existence until to day, not one Indran subject of Her Majesty the Queen has been offered a place on that Board (Shame) Another point which seems to me singular is this that not one single mentleman who pays us the compliment of accepting a seat on that Council, end who does us the honour of drawing £1,200 a year in addition to his pension for doing nothing that we want done, not one of these gentlemen contributes by way of taxes to the Indian Government (Shame) Let me suggest that the constitution of the Council requires something more than mere mending Look et the term of office of its members Under the old Act of Parliament, its members were originally placed on it during good behaviour That was found, I presume to be rather a precurious tenure (Laughter) because it has been changed into an appointment for ten years, subject to recommendation on the part of the Secretary of State, who hay at pleasure extend it from ten years to fifteen Is not that somewhat of the nature of a permanent settlement with fixity of tenure (Laughter) modified of course by the benevolent interposition of a Secretary, kindly moved by his personal whims and caprices? Next, what with legard to the initiadiction of the Council, I find that there seems to be some doubt as to what the Council can do and what it cannot do Th Duke of Argyll seconded by his Lord Chancellor, Lord Selborne, was strongly of opinion that the Secretary of State's Council had no right to do anything whatever except to offer mere opinion. A little later, and I find that the Marquis of Salisbury seconded by his Lord Chanceller, Lord Carra, was as strongly of opinion that on all questions affecting the financial arrangements of this country the voice of the majority of the Council is entitled to carry its full weight In this conflict of opinion, it seems to me the time has come when we should interfere and put an end to the doubts raised by putting an end

to the Council itself (Lauglier and Cheers) Then Sir, I find that Henry Fawcett, a name which ought to commend itself to every ladian who recognises the worth of a true and gener which ought to commend itself to every ladian who recognises the worth of a true and gener one patrods in, publicly amounced his makine opinion that with regard to all questions of one patrods in the property of the pro

out the consultation of, this particular Connicil Then, what on earth is the use of this Council ** (Cheers) If the Secretary of State is to be controlled by the Council, then abolish the Secretary of State If the Council is to be controlled by the Secretary of State, then abolish the Council The doal existence is niedes, dangerous, expensive, obstructive (Cheers)

Who can help being struck with the fact that, during the first ten years of its life the

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Secretary of State interfered to overrule it only eight times? I find each time he so interfered and overruled, it was with regard to some question of the Indian services. That is not a very important matter, and I ful to see why we should pay twelve gentlemen or more £1,200 each for settling the local disagreements of the officials in this country. Let me mention Sir, by way of illustration, what the commercial capacity of the members of this Council appears to be I will give you three just inces as to the way in which they deal with commercial matters. To those more particularly who are so enthusiastic over the poverty of India and the question of trying to rearrange her finances, I need scarcely say that good commercial instincts and good commercial habits are matters of primary importance for the due regulation of this country's affairs Yet I find commercial incapacity apportioned by the Council with admirable imparts ality to its dealings with all three Presidencies Thus although Lord Cuming in 1858 sept an urgent despatch to the Secretary of State strongly prote-ting against his contemplated action, that particular Secretary of State in Council sanctioned the construction of the Calcutta and Sonth Eastern Railway, and guarantied interest at the rate of 5 per cent. This was done after gleven Jerrs experience had taught that such concessions were in reconcilable with the true interests of India The result of this was that the whole thing practically became hankrupt, and the Secretary of State had to purch a the railway at the cost of half a million sterling Not content with this purchase of 1858, in 1859 the Council granted another concession, this time, by way of strict impartiality, (Laughter) in my own particular Presidency of Madras, to the Madras Irrigation Company upon substantially the same basis, guaranteeing to pay in perpetuity interest at 5 per cent upon one milhon pounds sterling. Soon after this it was found the calculations were all wrong. The work never paid its expenses. What did the Secretary of State in Council do? He promptly advanced an additional £6,000 without security, with the result that eventually India had to buy this concern at par (Sharie) I bave dealt with Calcutta and Vadras Let us see what is done in the Presidence to which Mr Wacha belongs I find in Bombay that in 1869 the India Council sanc tioned the purchase of the Elphinstone Land and Press Company for Rs 1,000 per share while the selling price was only Rs 339 (Shame) These illustrations show that the commercial capacity of the gentlemen who receive handsome salaries and pensions from us is not so great as to entitle them to retain our confidence or our admiration (Cheers) I will not enter upon more recent financial transgressions illustrative of the Council's commercial incapacity We are all only too familiar with its proved incompetency on matters of finance. Now with regard to the Council's method of legislation, let me quote a single instance, by way of accent, from the speech of a person no less capable than our former Premier Mr Gladstone Emphasising the fashion in which Indian legislation is carried on this is what he said 'Suddenly in the dark, in the "privacy of the Council chamber, I believe in answer to a telegram, without the knowledge " of Parliament, without the knowledge of the country, a law was passed totally extinguishing "the freedom of the native press I think a law such as that is a disgrace to the British "Limpire" So do I (Loud Cheers) Yet this is what the expensive anachronism of the Indian Council does not blush to effect (Cheers) Now let us look at some interesting figures illustra tive of the licentious and criminal extravagance of these twelve or fourteen gentlemen at home India has been charged-and has had to pay-£821,100 for the erection of certain huldings in England Of this £540,000 has been absorbed in the construction and furnitare of the India Office, a place not unfrequently devoted to giving, at the expense of India, costly enterfain ments to visitors to England unconnected with this country (Laughter) I find that £70,000 have been spent on the erection of a library, £68,000 upon our old friend the Store Dipot. laughter) If you will divide 82 by 12, each member of Council, excluding the President, that is the Secretary of State, but including the Vice-President, has about 231ds of a hodsemaid all to himself (Laughier) For that we are made to pay. (Laughier) By way of illustration of the absolutely illumitable extravagance of the India Office, let me mention two more items. First of all when a prince-his name need not be mentioned-came out to Iudia some time ago India had to pay and did pay his expenses. But when the same prince went to Australia, Australia did not pay his expenses (Shame) I find also that it was discovered absolutely necessary for the imperial grandeur of Calcutta that the picture of a Viceroy and the picture of a Prince should be painted and hing up in the Council Chamber of that Capital The pictures were provided and the tax payer of India was fleeced to the extent of £812 for their cost (Shame) I turn to lighter topics I do not myself lay much emphasis upon, or feel much respect for, orders, garters, titles, ribbons, medals, and smular rubbish (Laughter) But other people do, and it is a matter of taste. But I fail to see, Sir, why the extension of the Order of the Star of India should have cost as during the last five years £13,769 sterling. (Shame) One point more and I have done We are prone to had the adjent of a new Vicercy with enthusiasm because we believe he will mangurate a new departure and try to be fair and just as a ruler. But in the majority of cases I think we all had his departure with unfergued pleasure (Laughter), because we find at the end of five years that in the main we have been grievoudy disappointed | the golden vessel has degenerated into an earthy vasc | Most of us are old enough to recollect when Lord Lytton came to this country and when he went away It was quite right that he should go away, The great regret was that he did not go away sooner (Cheers) For transporting him and his family from Calcutts to Eugland this country had to pay the enormous sum of £5,280 (Shame) Now, some time ago -with this I will close-a man whose name like Fawcett's ought to compre up in you a sensation of lasting gratitude-that great Qualty demagogue of the people, John Bright, (Cheers) said, when he opposed the formation of this particular Council with a deeper statesmanlike penetration than is possessed by those who call themselves statesmen in Ind a. "These 15 gentlemen "with handsome salaries, fair retiring allowances and a good deal of patrenage at their dispos-"al, and whose work would be so easy that nobody was able to say exactly why they were "appointed, would be the last persons to complain of the Act under which they were created, "and they would find that their friends in that House and out of it, and in the Press, would say "that nothing was so admirable as the Act passed in 1858, and the re-ult would be that little "or no concern would be felt in the affairs of India, and its interests would be to a great extent " neglected , that compluints might be made of such neglect, but these fifteen gentlemen would "still assert with the most unblushing countenances, that nothing could be hetter than their "administration of India" It is because we realize that that prophecy, unble most prophecies, has come true, it is because we desire to put an end to the evils which John Bright so graphi cally described, that I ask you to-day to adopt this resolution which will strengthen the hands of your British Committee at Home, working with marvellous devotion and unselfishness, unpaid, in the cause of Indian Reform (Cheers) I trust, Sir, no man in India will, for one moment, shut his eyes to the real facts of the situation, nor suppose that this particular attack upon the India Council is likely to be successful at its first onslanght. It was not so we won the recognition of the elective principle (Cheese) It would be folly not to recognise that we shall find arrayed against us in the future, as we found arrayed against us in the past, all that racial jealousy, all that personal dislike, all that individual antipathy, all that malice and envy and hatred and uncharatableness can summon to join and weld together in one obstructive whole, to impede our wishes, to repel our crusade, to crush our ambitions, and to drain our purses, (Cheers) But, my friends, as you have vanquished in the past so shall you be victorious in the future, if as in the past, you be true to yourselves, your country and your cause (Cheers) I have delivered the message which our friends in England have asked me to give you There has already been drafted a Bill which I hope will be brought forward in the next

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Me Lardlet Norson Second Day.

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MR EARDLET NORTON or in the immediately succeeding Parliament, and when we have this particular institution swent out of the way, then we shall breathe freely, then our taxes will be spent or our own wants (Cheers) then we shall be able to unpose those taxes ourselves (Cheer) Personally I up not very much enamoured of the sne reation that in hen of the Secretary of State and his Connoil, we should have a standing Committee of Pulsament at home because I feel that the Standard Committee may in the course of years become the monopoly of the retired Anglo Indian official who trukles into Parhament (Hear hear from Mr Sennour Kean) But his most selections in life, it is a choice between two evils. Some of us may prefer to ahide he the evil we know of than the to the evil of which we do not know But, personally. I would soone embark on any venture, sooner trust to any new tribunal, sooner pin my futh on any proposed combination than entrust anything in which I felt a personal interest to the clutches or the carele suess of the India Council (Cheers) With me there is no mending that Council It must be ending Let it be decapitated and its head deceptly huned in another continent to that in which last interred its trunk, lest the two haneful things remute and the mouster to resuscitated (Laughter and Cheers) For a worse system than the present could not be invented by the ingenuity of man. The Conneil is a secret body, its discussions are not public, its conclusions do not see the hight of day, it is not open to the influence of outside criticism it is not me possible to Parliament, it cannot be affected by public oppose. Log council have a worse body than that to rule or to muscule you (Cheers) The standing Committee of the Hou c of Commons will have at any rate this advantage in the first place if will be very much less expensive because it will sween away the £1,200 a year of these gentlemen, and in the second place, son will have the advantage of its members speaking in public, subject to public ounion, subject to debate, and subject to criticism (Cheers) So far as I am concerned this part of the read lution is only tentative. I shall be open to dispuss and consider any better substitute for the Council whose execution we all desire so heartily to attend " (Laughter)

To you, Sir, (turning to the President) the President of this Congress and a member of the mother of all Parhaments, we Inglishmen and Indians here assembled allie turn for confort and relat, f, to you, who at this holy asson of the year, have cene among us hringing from your own united party a message of hope, of good will, of perseverance (Ohers), to you who like as large graduated and are graduating still in the school of political persecution as political directs (Chers), to you, whose life long connection with the struggles of our registration of their yand for self government must in covarily teach you to be in reverse sympathy with ill men, who like ourselves are facing adds in our struggle for our registration (Chers). We believe that when you leave us, you will not a free the (Oters). Fur closer contact and t uch with the proples of this country and with their sims and incthods, since yet have one of the content and the sentence of the country and with their sims and incthods, since yet have one of an one of the will have you that there is much that is good and lovable in their character (Chers). India are certain that, impelled alike by sympathy and conviction towards the sure pre-contral milions of Her Majordy's Indian subjects, you will get a thirm the assistance as well of your vore, as of your vote, when next they upper left to tree imperial and United Parliament of Great Britain and Irisland (Loud and long continued Cherce)

for Personner -This resolution will be second if by Mr. R. N. Mudholkar if Representations

MR R N MCD

Mt. R. N. McDROLKAR —Mr. Prevalent, Ladies and Gentlemen—The resolution which has been moved in such eloquent terms and with such an array of facts sad figures by my friend Mr. Norton may appear to some to be world in rather a strong manner. But I am sure that when you have heard his facts and when you bectow your streamon of the reason of the things, you will be convined at latties at the strong as it should be We say in that Resolution that this Congress considers the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for Ind a set at present constituted to be a necessary preliminary to all reforms.

What we mean by this is that all that we have asked for will not be granted to us unless this hody is removed from our path. It has been said very often in England, with regard to other things and other objects, that Ireland blocks the way Here in India we might well say with another meaning that the Council of the Secretary of State blocks the way (Hear, hear) You say that all your people are miserably poor, that you are overtaxed, that the burdens of the country ought to be lightened. It is the Secretary of State in London who governs you He has a Council there, and it is his Council which stops the way, and obstructs the path of You have been for years asking for the Permanent Settlement, in fact, several Secretaries of State have seen the accessity of granting a Permanent Settlement Again, it is his Council that blocks the way You have asked for that small medicum of reform, namely, granting a representative element with regard to the Legislative Conneils It again came in the way. It was the Secretary of State's Council. There is the Simultaneous Examinations Question Who comes between you and the attainment of your wishes? Again, the Council of the Secretary of State It is these gentlemen who, holding a high position in England, exercise that power, not for your good, not for the purpose for which they are appointed, but to finatrate the very object for which they were called into existence advisedly that they violate the very principle for which the Law called them into existence (Cheers) When in 1857-1858 it was proposed to take the Government of India from the Com pany, it was proposed that the late Board of Directors should be abolished, and that the old Board of Control should be abolished and that India should be taken over by the Crown and be directly managed through a Secretary of State It was objected by persons who were friendly to the old ' John Company," that there would be no protection of Indian interests Various measures were suggested. It was suggested that certain cities should have re presentatives That was shandoned, and several other projects also were shandoned, and at last this Council was created And for what purpose? For protecting the interests of this country So this Council was created for protecting our interests. It was conceived that a body of experts was necessary to consult with the Secretary of State because the man who would be called upon to fill the position of Secretary of State would often be utterly ignorent of the duties of the office, and therefore it was resolved that for protecting the interests of the people of India there should be a body of experts Now that body consists for the most part of members of the Indian Services It is these gentlemen occupying this position who are supposed to piotect our interests! And they are supposed to protect our interests in two ways, firstly, as the final executive authority and, secondly, as directing the policy of the Government of India from England 1 say in regard to both these matters that they have failed, and failed egregiously (Cheers) As executive authorities those who have held high positions naturally by their predilections, by the bias natural to their minds view things as the officials here, and finally when the decision is passed here by the Government it is very difficult to get the Secretary of State or his Couocil to reverse it ,-that is the final executive anthority And whether you look to high matters like those I have referred to, or to individual grievances, or cases like those of Crawford or Wilson Russell, the Secretary of State's Council does not fulfil its function, namely, that of protecting the interests of India (Shame)

I shall mention to you only one pasticular instance of individual grievances 1 on most one from Sombay—what the Inam commission is When the Inam Commission was let loose in certain provinces, which need not be mentioned here, certain Isaans were attached and the proceeds taken to the Government treasure pending investigation, which in some cases went of for a period of 2.5 years. At last-tic was found that the Isaandars were entitled and their claums were allowed. But during all this times Government had received the profits. The Isaandars asked for arrears. The Government of Indiv. disallowed the claum. (Shame)

There was an appeal to the Secretary of State and his Council. Well, one would have expected that if the claum was just, Government would have taken time to verify the thing. No! Clauss of right and justice like this would most.

Resolution IV
Secretary of
State's Council,

MR R N MUD-HOLKAR. Second Day

Resolution IV Secretary of States Council

ME R A MUD

certainly hamper the hands of our Council, and these chains were summard; rejected (Shan' This is the justice which is received from the highest executive authority. Well, then, also doming these individual instances, and abundoming also other nurtiers, we find the Secretary of State's Council not serving its purpose in mother way. When the law was passed, it was believed that in regard to formenal matters at least the Council would be able to control addicate the action of the Secretary of State. The Duke of Angril had other views and in several instances the Secretary of State over ruled his Council, and curried things with a high hand. Now then, has the Council fulfilled its purpose? (Cruss of No! No! and Cherri

But you must not blame the Council, it is not the man or the Council, but the system which we are attacking (Hear, hear) You also find that in several matters affecting mod vital questions between I agland and Indra they are over ruled and counct enforce their setima That means that it is a Conneil which is utterly useless, and as it does not serve any useful purpose it ought to be abolished On both these grounds, therefore, the Secretary of States Council should be abelished (Hear lear) Then it may be asked, "What shall be put in its place? There must be some consultative body" Speaking for myself, I should much prefer nu elective Council That 18 a demand, however, which we may enunciate hereafter present an execute countries are that there should be a Standing Committee of the House of Commons (Chesrs) Under the present system the Secretary of State is a perfect nutograt, because even if the Council were to push their views to the extreme and carry matters to Parliament, the Secretary of State, with a Parliamentary Majority behind as matters to take the decisions of the Council But if you have a Standing Committee back, can cash, old commons, chosen as that body would be from all sides, it would carry a weight of the House of Commons, a Council like the Secretary of State's cannot have It would carry a weight and have a provinge and enforce its opinions with fir greater authority than the present carry for greater weight, therefore, Gentlemen, I accound this Resolution for your accept ance (Loud Cheere)

"give any reasons for your summary action We protest against your action, and shall take steps to "make public the indignation that we feel at your conduct." (Shame Shame)

Resolution IV
Secretary of
State & Conneil
The President

Second Day

Now, I don't intend in future to give any explanation of my ruling. If you are not satisfied with my rulings in future, you can put me out of the Chair But, seeing the extremely painful character of this incident, seeing the fact that the only lady in the place was engaged in it, and that she was the only English-woman here, and also that she is a relative of a dear friend of mine, I think I am entitled to give some explanation. According to the rules the Subjects Committee arranges the business here It arranges the Recolutions. and it arranges the list of speakers Miss Muller was not on the list of speakers. the amendment which she handed to me had nothing whatever to do with the Resolution hefore the meeting, and also, spart from that, would have been entirely out of order at any time in these meetings. I should have ruled it out of Order at any time. Now I desire to know whether after hearing this explanation, you think that I have complied with the rules of fair play? (Cries of You have! You have! Three cheers were here called for Mr WEBB and given most heartily, the audience standing) I am quite sure that you will support me in my future rulings, and I now consider that this most painful incident is entirely at an end, and buried in our recollections The Congress now adjourne till 12 o'clock to morrow (Prolonged Cheers)

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THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, the 28th December, 1894

The Congress as embled at 12 o'clock.

Third Day

PREPERIORAT—Gentlemen, in commeacing the proceedings for this day, it is necessary that I should remark that the amount of business that we have to get through it very great. I was mather lement yearchary, it being the first day, but I must be a little more strict to-day. I am willing to stop here till 10 o'clock but I doubt whether everybody would do the same. I must restrict the appealcrate to the recognised time. I have now to call upon Mr C Jambulagent Mudaler, to prepose the fifth resolution.

Besolution V Financial Frignity RAI BAHADUR C. JAMMCHINGAM MUDALIER —Mr. President and Brother Delegates— The resolution which has been placed in my chargo and which I move runs thus. —

RAI BAHADUR C JAMBULIYGAN MUDALIER. This Congress while thanking Her Majesty a Government for the promise they have made to appoint a Select Committee of Members of Parliament to enquire into the financial expenditure of India regards the enquiry with so limited a scope as inadequate, and is of opiation that if the enquiry is to hear any practical fruit it must include an enquiry into the ability of the Indian people to bear their existing financial burthens and into the financial relations between India and the United Kinedom

Goatlemen, it is necessary that before I begin to explain the several component parts of this Resolution I should state briefly the occasion for the introduction of this Resolation at this Coagress You remember that about four months ago the Indian Budget State ment was introduced into the House of Commons, and that the proceedings at that introduction showed a marked contrast to the proceedings on similar occasions in former years. It care rise to an eaermous amount of animated and interesting discussion regarding several points concerning the welfare of India We must express our gratitude to that Committee of Industrue and trasted friends (Hear, hear), presided over by Sir William Wedderburg (Cheers) for the laterest it has created among the members of the British House of Commons ia matters concerning the welfare of this vast Empire (Hear, hear) We must express our gratitude in an equal degree to that band of 1.3 philasthropic members of the House of Commons (Cheers) who have promised to interest themselves in the impartial consideration of the questions relating to this great Empire (Hear, hear) But, Gentlemea, we have also to express our grititude and thanks to an official holding a high position in India, particularly in connection with the matter before you-I mean Mr Westland, the Financial Secretary with the Government of India, to whose sophistry and bad logic is to be ascribed the fact that this year's Indian Budget aroused such unusual interest and attention. In him also we shall reader our thanks without stint or reserve, because, but for his statement that exchange is the principal cause of the terrible deficit in the Indian finances of this vert it is probable that our emment brethren of Bombay, the emment economists of the Bombay Presidency As ociation would not have been stirred up to immediate action, and probable also that the British Committee of the Indian National Congress would not have felt the need of publishing a note on Mr Westland a Budget Now, Gentlemen, on the motion to go into Committee on the East India Revenue Accounts our friend Mr Samuel Smith moved amendment in these terms "That in the opinion of this House a full and independent "Parliamentary enquiry should take place into the condition and wants of the Indian people,
"their ability to bear the existing financial burdens, the nature of the Revenue system
"and the possibility of reduction in the expenditure, also the financial relations between
"India and the United Kingdom, and generally the system of Government in India"

Now, Gentlemen, this amendment of Mr Samnel Smith's was seconded by no less an expert in Indian Economy than our illustrions countryman Dadahhai Naoroji (Cheers) and supported by one whose voice you have heard, and who having come from England is sitting before us as a delegate in this National Congress (Cheers)-I mean Mr Seymonr Keay (Cheers) The Secretary of State, denying the premises put forward by the Indian party, granted, or at least promised to grant, at the very beginning of the next Session of Parlia ment a Select Committee For what purpose? Fo inquire into the financial expenditureexpenditure only-of India, and nothing more Gentlemen, we must render our thanks to the Secretary of State for this concession, though we may differ in our views as to the scope of the enquiry The clock has been placed before me and I shall not be very long , but on this proposition I must ask your indulgence and also the kind permission of the President because I feel it incumbent to pass in review the statements made in the House of Commons by certain members of the Opposition against which it is necessary that we should enter our most solemn and emphatic protest and send that message to England for the edification of those Members (Hear, hear) Now, Gentlemen, I shall go into the subject I think I can make you understand our position by a brief illustration, which may not be elegant, but et the same time expresses our ideas briefly and in a short compass. The action of the Govern ment-if the promise of the Secretary of State results in action in the terms of that promiseseems to me like the conduct of a stupid cartman who loads or overloads his cart without considering and measuring the etrength of his hullocke. The Government idea of making an enquiry into the expenditure only without making corresponding enquiries as to the capacity of the Indian tax payer to bear the present hurdens seems to be based on foregone conclusions. It postulates that the Indian people are very happy and contented under the present fiscal burdens, that they have nothing whatever to complain of, and that the present taxetion can be continued without any diminution Gentlemen, this ignores several points and several metters about which authorities have expressed themselves in no numistakable language, it impores the fact that the Salt tax is a most oppressive and galling tax touching the poor . it ignores the fact that eminent authorities have propounced that there ought to be a reduction of the balt tax at the earliest possible opportunity, at least to its former limits , it ignores the fact that the Income Tax as assessed at present is an extremely hurdensome tax, especially on the poor of this country, because the taxible minimum is placed at Rs 500, and it ignores also the fact that this Congress year after year on behalf of the poor of this country has been resolving, and sending out its resolutions, to raise the minimum at least to Rs 1,000 (if not to the limit prescribed for the English tax payer, its, £150), it ignores also the fact that the opium revenue is at hest a most uncertain revenue, and that it threatens to vanish so soon as China can produce its own indigenous article it ignores further the tendency of the present temperance movement, which has found very valuable and strong support in the House of Commons, lastly, it ignores the grinding poverty of India about which statisticians of eminence have pronounced and spoken in no doubtful language. That subject of poverty has been dealt with by a master, and it is impossible for me to add anything to that But, Gentlemen, I shall only mention one circumstance which Mr Seymour Keay omitted probably out of modesty-I mean the enquires made by himself, the things which he mentioned before the British House of Commons Five villages of the Bombay Presidency were selected by him for investigation, and he pointed out that the income of the inhahitants of these villages was not enough to meet the maintenance of the cattle and the starvation rates of the ryots and also the payment of the Government taxes Gentlemen, Sir Richard Temple, about whom I shall have to speak much, with a self sufficiency peculiar to himself, thought that he had

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Linquiry

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MUDALIER

demolished and pulversed Mr Seymour Keay when he said "How then do these people pay the taxes?', conveniently forgetting for the moment that the chronic indebtedness of the Indian ryot is a proverh that could find place in dictionaries and books of proverbs, conve mently forgetting also that the cry for Agricultural Banks in this country to relieve the ryot from the strong grip of the money lender is not a false cry, and that the Government is also anxious about it But, Gentlemen Mr Seymour Keay bas survived this pulverising process, and has returned to us, and we congratulate him for that (Hear, hear) I shall say only a few words on the second point in this Resolution, viz , the financial relations between India and the United Kingdom, considering it superfluous and unnecessary for me to add anything to the speech of Mr Seymour Keay relating to the poverty of India The simple fact about this is that upwards of 20 millious of pounds are aunually remitted to England for the purpove of meeting necessary and unnecessary expenditure in that country, and all this money is completely lost to this country Mr Eardiey Norton, my friend, (Cleers) yesterday gave details very accurately from Blue Books about the need for this expenditure I shall only add one item which he probably omitted in the long list and catalogue of figures he had. He mentioned that for a Lunatic Asylum in England £3,000 were speut for construction, but he omitted to say that the sum of £2,300 per annum is also spent for pay and pensions -of whom? I do not know It is incomprehensible to minds that have not yet attained that maturity of under etanding which is possessed by those inmates of the famous institution at Ealing (Laughter) I shall not trouble you any more because my time is limited, but I must ask for your indulgence in this particular matter because it was on the identical proposition before the House of Commons that the opponents to this Resolution made speeches to which we have the strongest objection, and I do believe that this Congress will enter its most emphatic protest against those statements For the present, Gentlemen, I begin with Sir Andrew Scoble, formerly 18g13 lative member of the Government of India As to his views with reference to the necessity for enquiry into Indian affairs his objection, and a strong objection it must be so far as he is concerned, is that this will be a very tedious and costly procedure as to the poverty of India he does not wage war with the statistics of the world. He conceives that the result of the enquiries which statisticians have made on the subject is that about Rs 25 per head is the average income of the native of India. We find here an admission from an opponent of the calculations made more or less by Dadabhar Naoron (Cheers) and Lord Cromer But, Gentleman, Sir Andrew Scohle finds a mysterious method by which the Indian population, in space of their income of Rs 25 per annum, get rich, healthy, happy, and contented. It is im possible for me to put in my own words what that explanation is and therefore I shall simply read his words and read them for your edification. This is what he says -

"The only result of the saqueness which statisticians have made on the subject is "that about 25 Rapes per head is the average meome of the satises of India. As far as money transactions are concerned this may be a fair representation, but as far as the "necessries of life and the conditions which make up the difference between poyerty "and wealth are concerned, these depend opon matters which are not purchased by "money, and into the provision of which miney does not enter at all. The poverty of India "is relative."

I am sure, Gentlemen, that you are all greatly edified and are informed as to the manner in which India gets happy and contended in spite of the 25 Rupees per annum. I now come, Gentlemen, to the only personage with whom I am concerned—Sir Richard Temple Mr. Seymour Keay read two passages yesterday and I shill not trouble you with them sow, but I can surply say that be has got a sovereign contempt for all the statisticians of the world, and is not without resources to substitute something else for the figures of the statisticians, and that is his own knowledge of 25 years in India. He says "At the time I was in India the poorest labouring man could earn 5 Rupees in the month, that is Re 60 a year." That is a

statement from his general knowledge of 25 years' experience in this country which he would boldly put forward against the statements of statisticious, who have laboured in the field of politics and Indian economy for years This is with reference to official statisticians With reference to unofficial statisticians be has got a very respectable phrase in calling Dadabhai Naoroji an "amateur statistician" Then, Gentlemen, this is a matter which you must senously consider and tell me if that is really the state of things. With reference to the Civil Service Examinations he states -" Certainly, we are most undoubtedly afruid lest men " who have passed the Examination should not be qualified for the great Civil Service, and " we are certainly afraid of the greater number of places being won by men of Bengal who are "absolute aliens to firling of the people of India, and who would not be acceptable to the "rest of India Madras is a peculiar cast. Madras is quite the quietest, the safest part of "India, and then the people who must enter the Civil Service are quite bomogeneous with the "natives of Madras There, if anywhere, the plan might answer But to have these Simul-"taneous Examinations is a danger which the Madras people foresaw and objected to / It is "not Madrasis who would get in but Bengahs, and they begged the Government that they " might be governed by Englishmen rather than by Bengalis"

I do not know, Gentlemen which blockbead in Madras gave expression to that sentiment, but he has another delicious passage here about Dadabhai Nacroji binaself -

"I desire to speak with peculiar respect of the race from which the honorable "member springs It is one of the most ancient and noble races in this world, and among it race many of the best friends A base anywhere. But I do say that they are not natives of India, and the Honorable member when be spoke on behalf of the natives of India, did not do so in the sense of being himself a native of India."

Do you say, Gentlement that Dadabhai Naoroji is not recognised as a native of India (Crise of No, No), to represent our case before the House of Commons I conclude, Gentlemen, as I bear the call of the Freedent that my time is out (Cheers)

ME H MORGAN-BROWNE -M: President and Fellow Delegates- You have all heard the Resolution, therefore I will not repeat it, but I want you to notice at once the form of the enquiry which has been granted as by the House of Commons That enquiry is a purely financial one, moreover it is a one sided one-what you may call a one legged enquiry ! (Laughter) It is only going to deal with the financial expenditure, and is not going to deal with revenue What I want you to keep clearly in your minds is that this so called financial enquiry is no part or portion of the larger enquiry which we have been asking for, and which we will continue to demand until it is granted us I do not want you to con sider that this enquiry is in any way a concession to the demand which India has made, namely, that the whole system of Government in this country shall he brought to the bar of public opinion in England (Cieers), and that there shall be such a stock taking as was customary at the renewal of the old Company's charters I want you to keep this enquiry entirely separate in your minds from that larger enquiry we are demanding, and I ask you to do so for this leason,-they will endeavour, when this enquiry has been held, and when they have succeeded, as they probably will succeed, in making this enquiry abortive—they will endeayour to put you off from that larger enquiry by saying "We have granted you all that you have asked for " (Hear, hear) Remember also this , the whole weight of the Government of India and the whole weight of that India Conneil will be brought to hear in order to make this enquiry in the nature of an andit Now, Gentlemen there is one thing we do not want in this world, and that is an audit of the Government of India's Accounts The Government of India keep excellent Accounts Then Accounts are admirably displayed-when you can understand them (Laughter) We do not want an audit of the Government of India's Accounts (Hear, hear) Now I want, if I can, to enggest a few points for your consideration

RAI BARADUR C JAMEUUINGAN MUDALIER

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Enquiry

MR H MORGAN BROWNS responsible authorities who will do that of their own accord . If there he defects and shortcomings in the financial administration of this country, will they not try to rectify them of their own accord? Well, Gentlemen, our behef is that they have failed to do that, and that, unless we bring to bear upon them the pressure of public opinion, the pressure of Parliament, those authorities responsible for the good administration of this country will not do that Gentlemen, this is not a statement made without authority, this is not an irresponsible statement made by us Congress Wallahs As a lact, Gentlemen, such of you as have watched current politics in this country must be aware of the very general complaint that has been made with regard to the financial difficulties that exist in the system of the great machinery of the Indian Government, that there is no centre which bears the hurden of responsi bility There is no place where responsibility can be spotted. There is neither an individual nor an authority whose business it is to control the administration of the country and to set right any defect-any departures from sound doctrines that might take place The Government of India has not done it. The India Conneil has failed to rectify our figureral errors Parliament has fulled to do it. The speakers vesterday and our Chairman himself have drawn your attention to the fact that amidst the enormous imperial and local business that Parliament has to discharge it most unfortunately forgets and aggoris the almost boundless, interests of this great country. It is unfortunate that it should be so, but still it is a fact that, nithough the constitution of the Indian Government vests the final control and authority in Parliament, Parliament from the very nature of the case fails to give sufficient attention to the interests of this country. Then, with regard to the Conneil of Her Majesty's Secretary of State, a good deal was said about the utter uselessness of that institution and I do not want to say anything more to day. hut all of you are aware that while the Council is often very powerful to obstruct progress and reform an this country, it is entirely powerless to effect any good against policies, funcies, or whims, or ug un't any vested interests in Parliament. Then, coming to the Government of India, what has it dope " I do not want to say a word in dis paragement of the Government of Indra. The Vicercy and his Conneillors are great und consciontions men The Government of India has ben managed and officered by men who hold the very highest places in the list of statesmen of the world, the history of no country contains, nay, can present a more glorious array of statesmen celebrated for the highest statesmanship and broad principles, and to the Government of no country in the world have been brought to a greater extent than to the Government of India the great principles of civilised Government in modern days. We admit all that, but, unfortunately, since the Government was transferred to Her Majesty directly, there seems to be a slackness come over the Government of India, and the interests of this country have been more or less neglected Well, such being the case, the necessity arises for the people of this country and for their friends in I agland to ask for a proper enquiry. We have seen that this request of ours has been supported recently by some cumment Anglo-Indian authorities, amongst whom are, I may tell you, Sir David Barbour, Sir Anckland Columnad others, while even the London Times has said-all these authorities have said-that the greatest defect in the system of the Government of ludia is that there is no place in which the responsibility for the proper Government of this country can be fixed Sir William Hunter writing in the columns of the Times has some to the extent of accusing the Government of India of want of honesty generally Wien he critici el Mr. Westland's budget, in which Exchange was taken at 14d per Ropee, although everybody knew that that rate was excessively high, Sir W. Hunter even sail that Mr. West land did that in order to mit gate the scandal of sacrificing 14 millions of Rupees of potential Indian R. venue to party exigencies in Fugland , in other words, he asserted that this high rate of exchange was assumed in order to aliay the public feeling against the exclusion of Manchester goods from the Tariff Act Such being the case, Sir, it will not be said that we are presumptions in asking for this enjury into the ability of the Indian people to bear their

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Frequiry
Will G. Stera

WIND ITER

Revenue and Expenditure are indissolubly bound up together, that they cannot be considered independently of each other, and that one cannot be separated from the other You might spend fifty times more money, but if you are able to show that increased expenditure is calculated to bring in a proportionate increase in the Revenue without causing any additional hardship upon the people, then the increased expenditure, far from being condemned would rather be welcomed, but, on the other hand, if the increased expenditure does not bring in a proportionate increase in the Revenue, then such a situation of affairs becomes a matter for serious anxiety, and involves considerations of the soundness or otherwise of the policy of the British Administration towards India (Cheers) A mere increase in expenditure is not necessarily to be condemned, por is a mere decrease in expenditure necessarily to be applanded, but condemnation or applause is to be applied only when one branch of the administration has been examined in the light thrown upon it by another branch of the administration (Hear. hear) All this, Gentlemen, I have stated by wav of illustration, to show that in most important heads of administration questions of Revenue and Expenditure are entirely dependent upon one another, and that it is absolutely impossible to do adequate justice to the one without taking cognizance of the other tHear, hear) The proposal for including the examination of the Revenue side of the administration within the scope of the enquiry which has been assigned to this committee being a matter of absolute necessity, it can also be supported on other important grounds. You are all aware that as far back as the year 1870 or thereabouts, the British Parliament appointed a similar Committee of Enquiry which was popularly styled the Fawcett Committee because Mr Fawcett, whose immortal name stands indelibly engraved on the hearts of the whole Indian nation, was one of its members (Cheers) This Committee, having continued its labours for four full years, recorded a huge mass of evi dence, but had no time to give a Report or to summarise the evidence it had collected, because 4 by the time the labours of this Committee had been nearly completed the British Parliament was dissolved, and along with it this Committee also was dissolved. If the scope of the enquiry of the present Committee is extended, and an examination of the Revenue side of the administration included in it, the work of this Committee will have been much simplified They have only to fill up the gap which the last Committee left at the end of 1882 and to examine half a dozen witnesses, the heads of cuch department with a view to ascertaining the change that has taken place during the last 20 years, and when this is done the enquiry will not occupy a very large portion of the Committee's time From this you will be satisfied, Gentlemen, that the inclusion of an enquiry into the Revenue side of the question is an absolute necessite, and that unless it is conducted hand in band with an enquiry into the Expenditure side, no Enquiry will ever be complete If the Secretary of State or the Parlia ment of England are not pleased to allow that, then they had better save themselves the trouble of appointing any Committee stall, because we are of the firm conviction that nuleus the Committee is constituted on the lines which we have indicated in our Resolution, the result of the present Committee would eventually be to create a feeling of general discontent and dissatisfaction throughout the whole Indian Nations (Cheers) With these remarks I most beartily commend the proposition to your acceptance (Cheers)

Mr A C PARTHASARADY NAIDU then addressed the Meeting in Tamil annud frequent MR A C PARTHA bursts of applause

SAPADY NAIDL

THE PRESIDENT -The fifth resolution has been properly moved, seconded, and supported Let those who are in favour of it hold up their hands (Vinces, All, All.)

The Resolution was carried unanimously

THE PRESIDENT -The next resolution will be moved by the Hon Surendra Nath Banerjea.

Third Day Resolution V F103,9ctal Engairy

MR R D NAPAR-KAR

Third Day

Resolution VI Simultaneous Examinations The Hov Sureves Nath Bayeses, who on riving was greeted with tremendous cheering, moved the following resolution $-\!\!\!\!-$

HOT SCRETCEA NATH BAVERIES That this Congress expresses its deep sense of disappointment at the despatch of the Secretary of State appointing the riess of the Government of India on the question of Simultaneous Framinations, and this Congress hereby places on record its respectful but firm prices ago as the despatch as, among other things, introducing a new principle inconsistent with the Charter Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of the Queen of 1st November 1835 (I en selican pledges contained in which the Secretary of State and the Government of India now neek to repudate) by creating a disability founded upon rice, for the despatch lays down that a minimum of European official in the Containated Service is indispensable.

That in the opinion of this Congress the creation of the Provincial service is no satisfactory or permanent solution of the problem as this service, constituted as it is at present falls short of the legitimate aspirations of the people, and that the interests of the subordinate service will not suffer by the concession of Simultaneous Fyannations

That no attempt had been made to make out a cuse against the holding of Simultaneous Framination: for the recruitment of the Engineering, Forest, Telegraph, and the higher Philee Serrice Framinations and the Chogress regrets to notice that the despatches of the Secretary of State, the Government of India, and the various local Governments are absolutely silent with regard to this aspect of the Revolution of the Howev of Commens

Tist il is Congress respectfally argue on Her Majesty's Government that the resolution of the Mone of Communs of 2nd Ann 1873, on the question of Simultaneous Framinations should be appeddir extred out as an act of justice to the Indian people. Third Day
Resolution VI
Simultaneous
Examinations

Mass Rapports

Well, Gentlemen, we thought we had made some napression on the Ministry. for the late Under Secretary of State Vi George Russell, from his place in the House of Commons, declared-I think it was in connection with the budget speech-that the Government, having offered its opposition to the resolution, would not throw further dif ficulties in the way of its being given effect to How did the Ministry proceed to carry out this part of their promise They proceeded to carry ibout in the same way in which they generally carry out their promises (Laughter) They addressed a despatch to the Government of India The Government of India units turn solicited the opinion of the local Governments Mark you, the modus operands followed by these various, Covernments, they consulted in secret , they deliberated in secret , they wrote their despatches in secret , they submitted them in secret , nobody heard a word about the matter they did not take the opinions of those public bodies whose opinions they are accustomed to solicit in regard to questions of public importance, and they were wise in their reticence [laughter], because they knew perfectly well that, if they had followed the usual procedure, consulted the various local hodies-Hindu and Mahomedan-for I refuse to believe that any conscientious Mahomedan (harring, of course, the celebrated half a dozen nobodies of your town) that any conscientions Mahomedan could have voted against the resolution of the House of Commons (Cheers)-I am perfectly convinced that, if they had consulted the public bodies, and followed the usual pro cedure, there would have been an overwhelming consensus of opinion in favour of the reso lution of the House of Commons Well, Gentlemen, the Secretary of State based his orders upon these various despatches which that high functionary received. The despatch of the Secretary of State is an extraordinary document. It contains three paragraphs extending over thirteen lines (Laughter) I leaves to call your attention to the number "tl ree" which is unlucky with us Hindus (Laughter), and the number "thirteen' which is influcky with " Christians (Laughter) The despatch is short and sweet I bievity they say is the soul of wit , bravity is the essence of this document , but I must confess its wit is not apparent. The Secretary of State in that document invites the Government of India to state the conditions subject to which, in the opinion of the Government, the resolution may be given effect to Mark the localty of the Secretary of State to his masters the House of Commons It is syndent from the words of the despatch which I have just q toted that, in the opinion of the Socretary of State, the resolution of the House of Commons cannot be given effect to in its entirety for he wants an expression of opinion from the Government of India, as to the modiheations subject to which the resolution may be carried out. The views of the becretary of Stata-the smater views I was going to add-hecome more apparent in the second paragraph of the despatch The Secretary of State openly invites the Government of India to open the battery of its boatile criticism upon the doomed resolution of the House The Secretary of State says, in the language of diplomacy which is usual on such occasions that he has no desire to fetter the discretion of the Government of India with regard to any remark which the Government may think fit to make upon the resolution of the House of Commons I should like to know what the Secretary of State himself would think if the Government of India were to send round a despatch, which it had received from the Secretary of State and invite the various subordinate Governmenta to treat it in the spirit of hostile criticism , but perlians that is only an error in form a mistake in procedure. We come to something which is a giert deal worse in the third paragraph He says that it is to be an indispensable condition on the part of any recommendation which the Government of India may make, that an adequate number of appointments should be held by Europeans The Secretary of State need not have taken the trouble to say so It was a mere work of supererogation At the present moment the Civil Service is the monopoly of Europeans I don't quarrel with them for it It is their monopoly, and we are trying to break through the moropoly There are about 940 appointments in the Civil Service, and how many, do you think, are filled by Natives of India? About 40 What is the native population of India? It is two hundred millions The European

population consists of seventy thousand souls, exclusive of the Army Out of two hundred millions, forty persons only are deemed qualified to hold appointments in the Covenanted Civil Service (Shame) Out of seventy thousand, nearly a thousand are deemed to be qualified for appointments in the Civil Service (Shame) These figures involve the greatest slar upon the Government of this country, for these figures, if they mean in thing, mean this-that, after a century of British rule, after a century of enlightened administration and liberal education only forty of our countrymen have been qualified for service in the higher appointments under the Government of this country (Cheers) Well, Gentlemen if Simultaneous Examination's were conceded, I am quite sure that for miny years to come the ratio would not be sensibly diminished for, as the Madras Government very properly ob served in their despatch, the immediate effect of Simultaneous Examinations would be an accession in the number of candidates competing at the Eximination, but not necessarily an accession in the number of successful candidate. But, Gentlemen, when the Secretary of State lays down this recommendation in this naked forms in this undisguised fashion, he invites a profest and a remonstrance, for the Secretary of State now, for the first time, introduces the element of recent disability into a question from which considerations of recent disability have been climinated for a period of more than thirty years, for what does the order of the Secretary of State amount to? It comes to this that if Simultaneous Examinations were granted, and, say that fifty appointments were competed for, and the first fifty candidates were Natives of India, all of them would not get the appointments-some of them would be disqualified by reason of their rice, they would suffer for the crime of colour (Shame) Would the Secretary of State venture to introduce a condition I ke this just now? If not, why should he be permitted to conjure up into existence the dead buried and forcetten spectro of racial disability? (Cheers)

Third Day

Resolution VI Simultaneous Examinations

HON SUBENDRA NATH BANERIES

Third Day Resolution VI. S.mnHaneous L-commetions.

NATE BANFRIES.

to the letter

it is not necessary to make the concession for the fulfilment of the so-called piedges, upon which the claim is founded, and these so-called pledges were given by our Sovereign on a great and historic occasion involving the aid of Divine Providence to enable her to carry them out Gentlemen of I can show you that the worst Government that we ever had and the best Government that we ever had both nute in testifying to the solemnity of these HON STRENDRA

pledges, we shall have made out a strong case in favour of our contention Undoubtedly the worst Government that we ever had-it is a matter of history, it is a matter of public notoriety, a matter of general second-was the Government of Lord Letton-it was the Government of the Vernacular Press Act. the Government of the Aims Act. the Government which initiated the policy of aggression beyond the frontiers, a policy which has been fraught with that reckless military expenditure which our friend Mr Wacha deplores from year to year in vain from his place in this Congress What does Lord Letton say about this matter? I hope I am not tiring your patience (No. Ac) In a speech that he delivered in March. 1877, as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, he said that the proclamation of the Queen (I quote his words) contains solemn i ledges snontaneously owen and founded mon the highest justice. Ho went on to observe that these pledges have not yet been adequately redeemed Then in that secret despatch which has more than once been quoted in our discussions, in that secret desnotch which he wrote to the Secretary of State he said. 'We have cheated the people of India" (Shame The word 'cheated" is lus own word, not a paraphrase of my own "We have cheated the people of India we have holen to the hope the words of promise which we have uttered to the ear." That was what was said by Lord Lytton The best Government that we have ever had was undoubtedly the Government of Lord Ripon (Enthusiastic Cheers) the Government which repealed the Vernacular Press Act, the Government which conferred upon us the mestimable boon of local self Government, the Government which introduced a higher tone a higher and nobler moral ideal into the Administration and placed that Administration for the first time in touch with popular sympathies Well, Gentlemen, during the height of the libert Bill discussion this matter of the proclamation of the Queer engaged the attention of the Viceregal Council There was a gentleman of the name of Mr Thon as "I think you gentlemen of Madras may know him he hailed from this Presidency He was Member of the Supreme Council at that He had read a little work issued at that time by Sir James FrizStephen, he was well grounded in that work, and he was an apt disciple of Sn James FitzStephen He observed in the course of a speech that he made from his place in the Supreme Council that the proclama-

tion enjoined no duty, imposed no obligation laid no mandate on the Government of India (Shame) Against this solemn and public repudiation of the proclamation Lord Ripon raised his voice in indignant protest Let me read those words which have been read a hundred times in the past—they will be read a hundred times in the future—they will be read by generations to come until the terms of that Proclamation have been vindicated and fulfilled "authority of which the Hon'ble Mr Thomas will admit, that righteousness exalteth a nation,
"and my study of history, which has not been limited, has led me to the conclusion that it is not
"by force of her armies or by the might of her soldiery that a great empire is perminently
"maintuned, but that it is by the righteousness of her laws, by her respect for the principles
"of justice." To believe otherwise appears to me to assume that there is not a God in Herven
who rules over the uffure of men, and who can punish injustice and impurity in nations as
"surely as he can in the individuals of which they are composed."

Third Day

Resolution VI
Simultaneous
Examinations

HON SURENDRA NATH BANFEJPA

But, Gentlemen, I have yet a higher authority than the authority of Lord Ripon in support of my view; that is the authority of Her Majesty the Queen her elf I hope that is an authority which will be accepted by Lord Landowne and his quoudam councillor Sir Philip Hutchins Her Majesty, when the proclimation was being discussed, wrote a letter to Earl Derby, at that time Prime Vinister, requesting him that he would be good enough to write the Proclamation in his own language, in terms which would be worthy of a female sovereign addressing a wast and a distant population and to the first time in their history giving them solemn pledge. But Gentlemen the Government of India relies upon a saving clause-"So far as may be" The saving clause wont save the Government (Laughter) That is perfectly true The saving classe must be interpreted in connection with the context What is the character and the scope of the proclamation? It is a noble declaration of a boneficent policy, it is a royal proclamation, and must be interpreted in the spirit of queenly beneficence Those who have recourse to tactics of this description scem to me not to nu ler stand the slur and humiliation which they involve upon the honour of their country and Sove reign To say, as Lord Ripon puts it, that a proclamation has been issued purporting to make solemn promises when, as a matter of fact no such promises are made, is to be guilty of an unheard of piece of hyprocrisy It is a proceeding which may recommend itself to the approv ing indement of official exports but, if accepted, it would represent a piece of diplomatic mondacity unworthy of those who have recourse to it

Gentlemen, there are one or two other matters which I wish to touch upon very The Government of India tells as that if Simultaneous Examinations were granted the Provincial Service would suffer I should like to know suce when the Government of India has developed this wonderful concern for the well houng of the Provincial Service. I romember the years 1870 1880 and 1890 Through the space of twenty years there was not the smallest manifestation of this anxiety for the hetterment of the prospects of the Provincial Service-it has probably been stimulated by our agitation in connection with Simultaneous Examinations What the Government of India really says is this, that the Covenanted Ser vice is not intended for you gentlemen of India it is meant for Europeans But here is another service You may enter it and we will improve it for you, but really this is the service that you must confine your ambition to You may remember that in 1870 the Parlia mentary Statute was passed Under that Statute rules were to he framed by the Govern ment of India subject to which rules, members of the Uncovenanted Service were to be promoted to appointments hitherto reserved for the Covenanted Service The Government framed half-a dozen rules in as many years, then it passed for another aix years and then appointed a member of the Uncovenanted Service to an appointment inthorto reserved for the Covenanted Service If the Government is really so anxious about the well being of the Provincial Service, might I be permitted to ask how was it that the Government did not accept that part of the recommendation of the Public Service Commission which provided that the appointment of a Divisional Commissioner and a member of the Board of Revenue should be reserved for the Provincial Service, or how was it that the Government of India did not, in accordance with the recommendations of the Public Service Commission, alter the schedule attached to the Act of 1861 for the betterment of the Provincial Service?

I have been told that the martial races would resent the holding of Simultaneous Examinations Why the martial races should resent it is a thing which I cannot nuderstand Third Day

Hesolution VI. Simultaneous Framinations.

HON SILFEDRA NATR HARFRIFA. it is not necessary to make the concession for the fulfilment of the so-called pledges, upon which the claim is founded, and there so-called pledges were given by our Sovereign on a great and historic occasion invoking the aid of Divine Providence to enable her to carry Gentlemen, if I can show you that the worst Government that we ever had and the best Government that we ever had buth unite in testifying to the solemnity of these picelzes, we shall have made out a strong case in favour of our contention. Undoubtedly the worst Government that we ever had-it is a matter of history, it is a matter of public notoriety, a matter of general second-was the Government of Lord Lytton-it was the Government of the Vernacular Press Act, the Government of the Arms Act, the Government which initiated the policy of azeression beyond the frontiers, a policy which has been frought with that reckless military expenditure which our friend Mr Wacha diplores from year to year in vain from his place in this Congress. What does Lord Lytton say about this matter? I hope I am not tiring your patience (No. Ac) In a speech that he delivered in March, 1877, as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, le said that the proclamation of the Queen (I quote his words) contains solumn pledges spontaneously given and founded upon the highest metice. He went on to observe that these pledges have not yet been adequately redeemed. Then in that secret despatch which has more than once hern quoted in our discussions, in that secret despatch which he wrote to the Secretary of State, he said, "We have cherted the people of India" (Shame The word "cheated" is his own word, not a paraphrase of my owa "We have cheated the people of Judia we have broken to the hope, the words of promise which we have uttered to the car " That was what was said by ford Lytton. The best Government that we have ever had was undoubtedly the Government of Lord Ripon (Enthusiastic Cheers) the Government which renealed the Vernacular Press Act, the Government which conferred upon us the mestimable been of local self Government, the Government which introduced a higher tone, a higher and nobler moral ideal into the Administration and placed that Administration for the first time in touch with popular sympathies Well, Gentlemon, during the height of the Ilbert Bill discussion this matter of the proclamation of the Queen engaged the attention of the Viceregal Council There was a gentleman of the name of Mr Thomas I think you gentlemen of Madras may know him he builed from this Presidency lie was Member of the Supreme Council at that He had read a little work assued at that time by Sir James LitzStephen, he was well groupded in that work, and he was an apt disciple of Sir James LitzStephen He observed in the course of a speech that he made from his place in the Supreme Council that the proclamation enjoined no duty, imposed an obligation laid no mandate on the Government of India (Shame' Agruest il is solemn and public repudration of the proclamation Lord Rivon raised his voice in indignant protest. Let me read those words which have been read a hundred times in the past-they will be read a bundred times in the future-they will be read by generations to come until the terms of that Proclan ation have been vindicated and fulfilled to the letter

"In me at stems" exclaimed Lord Ripon a very serious thing to put forth to the "people of India a doctrue which readers worthless the selimin words of their bovering and "wit ich converts I or gracius promises, which her I thin nubjects I are chetished for a quarter of a century, into a hollow meckery as maningless as the compliments which form the "majorable opening of an occount Johns I. Die document is not a treatjent is not a diplomation of the majorable opening of an occount Johns I. Die document is not a treatjent is not a diplomatic manifestation of the majorable of Coverment which, if it is obligatory at all, is obligatory to tall, is obligatory to tall, is obligatory to tall, is obligatory to the surface of the coverment with the character of my which will be sufficient with the character of my Soverign and with the known of my country, and if it were once to be received and setted upon by the Coverment of Fighand whould do more than anything else conditionably do in "strike at the root of our power and to destroy our just influence. I have read in a look, the

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Resolution VI

HON SUREYDRA
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Gentlemen, there are one or two other matters which I wish to touch upon very The Government of India tells us that if Simultaneous Examinations were granted the Provinceal Service would suffer I should like to know suce when the Government of India has developed this wonderful concern for the well being of the Provincial Service. I remember the years 1870, 1880 and 1890 Through the space of twenty years there was not the smallest manifestation of this anxiety for the betterment of the prospects of the Provincial Service-it has probably been stimulated by our agitation in connection with Simultaneous Examinations What the Government of India really says is this, that the Covenanted Ser vice is not intended for you gentlemen of India, it is meant for Europeans But here is, another service You may enter it and we will improve it for you, but really this is the service that you must confine your ambition to You may remember that in 1870 the Parlia mentary Statute was passed Under that Statute inles were to be framed by the Government of India subject to which rules, members of the Uncovenanted Service were to be pro moted to appointments hitherto reserved for the Covenanted Service. The Government framed half-a-dozen rules in as many years, then it prused for another six years, and then appointed a member of the Uncovenanted Service to an appointment lathorto reserved for the Covenanted Service If the Government is really so anxious about the well being of the Provincial Service, might I be permitted to ask how was it that the Government did not accept that part of the recommendation of the Public Service Commission which provided that the appointment of a Divisional Commissioner and a member of the Board of Revenue should be reserved for the Provincial Scivice, or how was it that the Government of India did not, in accordance with the recommendations of the Public Service Commission, after the schedule attached to the Act of 1861 for the betterment of the Provincial Service?

I have been told that the martral races would resent the holding of Simultaneous Examinations Why the martial races should resent it is a thing which I cannot understand Third Day
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Simultaneous

Hon Supendea Name Banerjea They do not case for civil appointments Their ambition lies in a different direction altooother. They want to be the cantains of our army. the leaders of our battalions They say that the Central Asian subjects of the Czar are admitted into the commissioned ranks of the Russian army, they pray that they may be placed on the same footing with the Mahome dan subjects of the Czai The Government will not gratify their ambition in this respect and asorbe to them fancied grievances which they never feel and make them the pretert for denying us that justice to which we are entitled Then again it is said that an Indian official is placed at a disadventage in comparison with a European if he is called upon to deal with those unbappy riots and disturbances between Hindus and Mahomedans which have taken place in recent years I think, Sir, I speak the sense of this great Congress and of every educated Indran, be be a Hinduon Mahomedan when I say that we deplore these differences and these disturbances (Hear, hear), and we go a step further and observe that the Government of India is directly responsible for these disturbances by following a policy of "Divide and rule" (Shame) I think it is very shameful that the Government of India, which is responsible for this state of things, should take advantage of it to deprive us of our legitimate claims and aspirations I am sure that factics so discreditable would not recommend themselves to the judgment of the British public or to members of Parliament, two of whom we have on this platform (Cheers)

One point more and I shall be done. It is said that the masses do not wish that we should fill the higher appointments. It is a monstrous proposition to bring forward that the masses would prefer foreign Magistrates and Judges to Megistrates of their own race and colour. This represents a perversity in human nature, a miracle in human disposition which I am not prepared to accept upon the upse dist of the Government of India. Gontlemen, if the Government is really so careful and so solicitous of the interests of the masses, might! be permitted to inquire why it does not reduce the Salt Tax, which presses so heavily upon the masses? (Laughter) Might I be permitted to each why it does not ahandon the opium revenue which demorshases the masses; might I be permitted to ask why it does not raise the taxable minimum for the Incème Tax which would afford sensible rehef to the masses? This are things which the Government will not do, but when it wants to defeat the legitimate aspiratious of the calculated classes the forsooth it becomes the champion of the masses. (Laughter)

Gentlemen, there can be no question that we have sustained a great defeat, and I think we owe it to conselves that we should convert this defeat into a victory. We should consecrate our efforts by that spirit of lofty self denial and patriotic devotion which, by making men divine, renders human endeavour irresistible. We are bound to win the fight in which we are engaged,—

"For Freedom s bettle once begun Bequeathed from bleeding Sire to Son Though often lost is ever won

In a conflict between the Government and popular rights the popular side has always triumphed (Rear, Rear) The victory has always remained with the People so long as they have manfully sinch to their guns. I cannot persuade myself to think that the ascriftices which we have been able to make in this connection have at all been commensurate with the greatness of the occasion on the nigency of the crims. Where is the universal protest against Mr Fowler's despatch? The whole country should ring with the voice of indigination like this and then going to sleep over it. It is no use recording a resolution like this and then going to sleep over it. It is no use recording a resolution like this side was men in position to make every town, every hamlet, every province, every hathet ring with the cry of indiginant protest against Mr, Fowler's despatch Gentlemen, it is possible for each one of in sweenbled here to do something according to the measure of our capacities and the measure of our opportunities. There are more than 1,000 delegates before me, may we not resolve before the year 1895 has closed,

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Hov Rajah Rampas Singn of alien merchants The third and last resource to keep the country in its proper position is Government service Even that is at hazard I am coming gradually to these points, but you will allow me first to begin with Her Majesty's promise and then I will show you how that promise has been defeated This is from the letter of the Governor of the Puniab, who has been so well proised for his conclusive letter which he has written against this Resolution of Parliament In order to understand our present position with regard to this question, it is necessary at starting to look hick to its past history. Fhat history, so far as regards what we deal with here, began with Section 87, cap 3 & 4, William IV, which rups thus "Be it eracted that no nabve of the said territories nor any natural boin subject of Her Majesty resident therein shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place of office or employment under the said Company" I may be allowed to point out to you what this meant I may be permitted to read a little further by which you will see that not only the Civil Service but the Military Service appointments also were opened to us (The President struck the gong) I must submit to the chair. hut I hope I shall be allowed to go on for a little time mire Lord Ellenbolough, in the debate of the 5th of July, 1833, charged the Government with proposing to place the political and military powers in India in the hands of the natives of India Then comes Hor Majesty's Proclamation which you have all heard As we did not appreciate these blessings, no objection was thrown in our way, but when a few of our Bengali friends passed then I xaminations sucossfully in Fagland then Lord lighton's Government begin to meditate and he wrote a letter. private letter, after consulting all the Governors and Lieute nant Governors, to Lord Cranbrook, and in this he proposed that the systems of the Military and Civil Service should be identical. and the Examination for the Civil Service should be closed for Indians (Stame) To this Loid Cranhrook replied that shutting up the Board of the Civil Service would require the sanction of Parhament, which he said "he did not like to undertake because he did not expect success." (Laughter) He asked Lord Lytton to propose some other scheme, and the other scheme proposed was to reduce the age of the candidates from 24 to 19 These promises were made I have got two other letters, but I need not real them hecause the going is gone. There is a letter which Her Majesty wrote to Lord Derby and which our able proposer has already mentioned here Well, Gentlemen, when the authorities saw that we were not ready to avail ourselves of the gracious promises of the Sovereign, they were silent now that they perceive that we crave the fulfilment of those promises the Government are endeavinent, to nullify the pledges of the Crown (Cheers) It seems to me that the promises or is they have been called by the late Viceroy, "so calle I plodges," were not intended to be redeemed. They were simply made to satisfy us, but were never intended to be fulfilled I have told you, that the coronnstances of India are in a most deplorable state to prove this I must quote you one instance I cannot help doing it because it is a triumph for India. There is an Urda proverb which says that " There is no beauty if a man of the party cries out for justice and "brings forward his claim, but there is a glory if the members of the Government themselves "come forward and admit the righteousness of our claims ' (Hear, hear) Gentlemen, when this Congress was going on for the first time at Allahabad I incurred the great odium of Sil Auckland Colvm I had been the only Taluqdar favourably disposed to the Congress I was advised by his Honour, and urged not to have anything to do with this movement I was told that it was a movement hostile to Government an levery means was adopted to per suade me to give it up, but of late I see that his Honour is himself favourably inclined to it The first quotation I will read to you is this His Honour says 'Unless exchange materially "rises without the Rupee appreciating in India, either the growth of Military and Political "expenditure must at least be put an end to, or the English Pax Payer must contribute per-"muently towards the defence of India The only remaining alternative is bankingtoy If "we enter on a course of successive measures of fresh taxation Russia without moving a man "or a gun needs only to bide her time" The fact of Indra's poverty has been admitted, and the monopoly of trade is in the hands of shen merchants the collivation of the soil, the mines, the mineral wealth, and the forces products of the country are being heavily taxed ave do not derive that profit that other countries receive from the lands, the mines of this country being worked by alien merchants, we do not derive benefit. The only thing we can look to for our support is at present the Civil Service. The Civil Service costs nearly 13 crores and some lakes to the country the Mintary Service costs the country 23 crores and 75 lakes. We cannot ask for Mintary Service. We have only to depend on the Civil Service. If it Simultaneous Examination is not held in this country we cannot properly compete with our brethren in English. English candidates are in their own country amongst their own people taught by their own tutors, whereas we have to go over lind and water to a place quite unknown to us there to be taught by alien tutors, while we have to live amongst foreign people, and then to prepare our lessons. Herefore it would be highly impast and unfair to say if a Simultaneous 4 xaniantion is not held in this country. (Chera)

MR R VENKATA SUBBA ROW -- Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen -- In coming forward to support this Resolution which has been so ally and so elequently moved and seconded, I find myself in a very unenviable situation. I find that funch that I wished to say upon this subject has already been anticipated, and what is worse. I have to speak with the words of one of our greatest orators ringing not only in my ears but in your ears (Applause) Nevertheless I proceed to speak the importance of the subject inspires me with courage, and the indulgence which I hope to meet with at your hands arms me with strength. I will not, however, scrutinise the despatch of the Secretary of State against which Mr burendra Auth Baneries entered his most emphatic protest (Applause) That is unnecessary That doon ment is beautifully transparent. It cannot stand the light of resson, and I do not like to compromise before this large assembly the authors of that document Remember, Gentlemen. that, with all their faults, our Secretary of State our Viceroys and our Governors are all hig men with big titles drawing big salaries, and that the only good they can do to us is to deny, and, when that is not possible to delay, our rights and our privileges (Hear, hear and Laughter) They are still entitled to our esteem and regard and perhaps also to our thanks because they stimulate us to work and win battle with greater speed though not with greater ease I will not therefore undertake the unpleasant and uninteresting work of missection but I will proceed to make a few anatomical observations upon that wonderful production, so that you may not be misled by the high parentage it cla ms both on the maternal and the paternal side in the Council of the Secretary of State for India and in the Council of the Vicercy in this country

Gentlemen this is not a mere figure of speech. It is something more than that It has a very strong if strange, foundation in fact The history of this wonderful despatch commences on the 22nd of June last year when the Right Honorable the Secretary of State. in obedience to the mandate of the House of Commons, with much relactance and amidst the protests of bith and kin resolves and proceeds upon a communication with the Viceroy. The event is announced we had it with hope and we jump with joy The Under Secretary and others give us the assurance As to the result of that event Lot on the 19th of April of this year, nearly ten months afterwards - nme months and 10 or 12 days after the communi cation reached the \ iceroy-after this full period of gestation the hirth of a monster is announced with glee and satisfaction (Loud Laughter) Our Anglo Indian friends sing billables Shall we cry or laugh? Gentlemen, the event is too serious not to kindle our indignation too serious not to make us resent the mockery involved in it, for what is it but the most serious matter affecting the welfare of three hundred millions of Her Majesty's loyal subjects To hold out hope and keep everybody on the tiptoe of expectation and then at the end of ten months to tell us coolly to go on and chew the bitter cud of disappointment after the sweet hopes we enter tained-what is it but a mockery of the most childish type unworthy of the dignity and honour of Her Majesty's Ministers, unworthy of the English character unworthy of the

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ME R VENKATA Suera Row Resolution VI Simultaneous Examinations

Thard Day

VIR R VENEATA
SUBBA ROW

prestige of Britain, nudeserved by the loyal sons of Hindustan? When, on the 19th April, Mr Fowler accepted the recommendation of the Vicerov. it does not seem to have flashed across his brain that he was bound at all events to give some effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons, at least out of respect to the desputch of his predecessor Lord Kimberley. or in consideration of the assurance even by the Under Secretary. Mr George Russell, or at least on account of the respect due to the great body that passed the Resolution, and the source from which it emanated Gentlemen. Mr Fowler failed in the discharge of a most important duty, and has violated the most solemn pledges and promises given to the people of this land by Her Most Gracious Majesty to the people of India, and repeated over and over again by Her Majesty's Ministers and representatives (Hear, hear and Cheers) Gentlemen. I will not go into these pledges and promises. Mr Surendra Nath Banerica has quoted them all to you and he has also explained them to you, how these pledges and promises for so many years remained I will, therefore, put the case simply before you, to see how the case stands and how the despatch of the Secretary of State has done as a very great mustice What is our case? Gentlemen, there are competitive examinations held, at which candidates are Well, if it was declared that these examinations are selected for the Civil Service of India not open to the natives of this country I should not be standing here to argue this particular question But our rulers do not say that They say that these examinations are open both to Englishmen and Indians They say that they proceed only upon considerations of merit as determined by these competitive examinations. They do not object even if all the success ful candidates at these competitive examinations should turn out to be Indians . they would raise no objection whatever But with all this fairness of principle, with all this love of even handedness, with all this good feeling for Indians, our rulers do one thing which practically nullifies their honevolent intentions They hold their examinations in London, and in London alone, near the homes of Engl shmen and far away from here, far off from the native place of those who are directly interested in those examinations. Now, Gentlemen, what did Mr Paul's resolution wish to effect ? He simply proposed an additional examination centre. He never wished to angment the Statutory service for Indians, hanever proposed to abolish London as the place of examination, even though he would have been justified if he had done that, because the examination for the Civil Service of this country ought to be held in this country— (Here the President struck the gona Voices. Ga on, Go on)

The President —Gontlemen, I must really claim your indulgence. I am trying to conduct the proceedings of the Congress as well as I can I flyou go on at the present rate, the business will not be done till 12 o clock. I must ask you when I strike the goog not to any 'Goon, Go on 'You have done it in every case, and there must be a limit to everything any 'Goon, Go on 'You have done it in every case, and there must be a limit to everything

MR VINATA SUBBAROW —I do not know how to proceed It is an important thing and I am the only Madras apeaker to apeak upon it Unless the Prendent is a little more indulgent, I had better not proceed at all (Voice: Timo Time and Go on Go on) I am perfectly willing to obey the chair, and I do not wish to go on for amount our desired.

THE PRESIDENT -I will give three minutes' time to the speaker

We, Veneza Sobel Row —Well Gentlemen, I do not wish to enter into the objections raised against this resolution in the despatch of the "ceretry of State for India I will simply urge upon you that we must protest against it, and pray for Simultaneous Examina tonos, we must appeal to the Government of India once more, and if we find once more, as before, that no good can come out of it let as appeal to the House of Commons, the great representative assembly Let us appeal to that an iask that bonourable house for a diffirm its resolution which has been set at naught by the Secretary of State (Cheers)

Let us not despair of success With justice on our side, with right on our side, the sancity of self sacrifice, with the sympathy of nations on our side, who can doubt that

victory will be on our side? Who can doubt that the blessing of God will he on our side? Who can doubt that the force of opposition will melt away before our march? Who can doubt that ere long we shall wave the trumphant banner of the Gongress in this second campaign of our political deliverance? May we not hope that we shall meet with that victor? Cather courage from our enlarged connells, gather hope from the presence on this occasion of two distinguished gentlemen who did it emselves the bonour and is the justice of voting in favour of Mr Paul's Resolution (Applaiss) May we not bope that the presence of these two distinguished gentlemen, our illustrious President and Mr Seymonr Keny, will help to win the sympathies of other members? May we not hope that the life work of our Grand Old Man will be crowned with fruit even in his lifetime, and that the gracious Proclamation of our noble Queen will be undexted and failfield, to the clernal glory of her reign, to the undering fame of England and the everlating happiness of India? (Cheers)

MOULTIE HALIZ ARDUL RAULE -Mr President, Brother Delegates and Gentlemen, I have risen to support this Resolution, and I support it very strongly and most heartily Gentlemen, you have heard all the reasons in support of this Resolution, adduced by previous speakers. I am going to particularize only one with a somewhat sectional motive-as distrograshed from a selfish one Gentlemen, there is no doubt that Mahoinedans have become poorer in comparison with their former state, it is alleged, and it is not denied, that they are poorer than other communities at prescut. Certainly in former times they were predominant in every branch of the Public Service, but unfortunately their numbers have gradually so thmned that they are now few and far between This fact I am sorry to say is owing to their own peathy and indifference in obtaining the English education provided by the British Government equally and alike for all But now, after losing all that they had, they have become wiser, and are trying to obtain that English education, and I am glad to say that the percentage of the English educated Mahounedan hoys is on the increase. I have the said experience to relate that a friend of mino who had every hope of coming out successful, and who was fully expected by all who knew him to pass that severe examination for admission to the Covenanted Civil Service, could not go to England, merely for want of funds Thas all his hopes of becoming a Civil Servant and of serving his country in that was have been damped And I suppose there will be found a good many similar cases among Mishomedans all over India Gentlemen, you know that it is not the richer and wealther classes that take to the service all over the world it is generally the middle class that desires to join the public service of the land. But it is beyond the means and power unfortunately of the Indian middle classes to send their youth to England (Hear, hear) If the Civil Service Examinations were held in India it is my sincere conviction that Mahomed in youths would derive greater benefits than they can ever derive if the Examination continues to be held in London only Of course, Gentlemen, their share in the service cannot be expected to be more than what is proportionate to their population, and those of my Vahomed in brethren who oppose Simultaneous Franciantions base their of oution on the fear that Mahomed ins would be nowhere in Competitive Franciscos This very plausible ground has been accepted by some of the local Governments But, Gentlen en considering the progress that Mahomedan youths are now making in education, and the fact if at in University I xamin itions also some of them have of trained the highest distinction I think there is not much reason for entertaining and such fear (Herr, hear) And supposing they are not prepared to drive sufficient benefit from the institute n of Simultaneous I saminations, Gentlemen, is it right that for the sake of one out of fire boys, the four remaining should be staved for an indefinite time from getting their hopes realised? In my opinion the best remedy for Mahomedans under the circum stances, is to support rather than to of pose this beneficial resolution, which will undoubtedly confer blessings apon them as upon others. With these remarks I support this resolution. and I commend it to your acceptance (Cheers)

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SCESA ROW

MOULVIE HAVIZ ABDUL RAHIN of my own choice that I come before you to attempt the infliction. Gentlemen, during the last year and a half, this subject of Simultaneous Examinations has been so prominently before us that it has thrown into the shade almost all other questions of current politics, and we might well say about it what Edmind Burke once said of the American question We have had this question in every shape. We have examined it from every point of view Our invention has been exhausted Reason is fatigued. Experience has given judgment But Angle Indian obstinacy is not yet conquered (Cheers) And remember, Gentlemen, this that we have to conquer is perhaps the worst kind of obstinues, for it is not based so much on wrong judgment, it is not based even so much on prejulice it is obstinacy based on the strong foundations of self interest and love of domination (Hear, hear) Well, Gentlemen, I have no wish to take you over familiar ground, but there are two or three points connected with this controversy which suggest some rather serious considerations, and with your permission I will make an observation or two about them And the first point to which I would invite your attention is that to which such prominence has been given in the resolution which we are considering, namely, that about an irreducible minimum of Europeans in the service. Gentle men, when we speak on this point let there be no mistake and no misunderstanding who may have read the literature on this subject must have been struck by the fact that till recently British Statesmen, however anxious to lay down some such principle as that now enunciated, have always felt that they could not do so openly, and have always therefore thrown a politic yeal over the whole thing. Those scruples however, have now disappeared. that yell has been torn off, and it is this circumstance which fills us perhaps as much as any other, not only with disappointment, but with alarm (Cleers) The Government of India and the Secretary of State have now authoritatively laid down that a certain minimum number of posts, and those the highest, must always and for all time to come be held by Europeans , and most of the local Governments have supplied a key to this proposition by saying in their despatches that that minimum has now been reached. The doctrine of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, therefore, means that the present arrangements should be per petnated, and is, in fact, an attempt to Leep us always under as a subject race Gentlemen. is it not plainly our duty as men not to allow this barefaced attempt to succeed? Some of our opponents often say -"But you are a subject race" Now all that I would say to such men is this, "We know we are a subject race, and the consciousness is humilating enough. " and they are not good friends of the Empire who indulge in the pastime of needlessly remind-"ing us of the fact" It is true that England has come here as a conqueror, but she has of her own accord solemnly pledged herself not to hold the country as a conqueror (Hear, hear) Let our opponents put themselves into our position, and then say what they would feel I believe they will allow that it is not wrong to love one's country I believe they will allow that it is not wrong to have a high ideal for one's country And then I believe they will allow that it is not wrong for us to be dissatisfied with our present condition. Well, Gentlemen, the pledges of equal treatment which England has given us have anophied as with a high and worthy ideal for our nation, and if these pledges are repudiated, one of the strongest claims of British rule to our attachment will disappear (Cheers)

Another point to which I would invite your attention is the It is often stated that if Similtaneous Examinations were granted, the Bengalis would awamp the entire service, and that this result would be resented by the people of the other parts of the country Now, Gentlemen, in the first place this assertion does grave impastice to the people of other parts I believe most of us can hold our own even against Bengalis. But assuming for the sake of argument that that would be the result, what then 7 Are not the Bengalis nearer to us than the Europeans who have at present a monopoly of the service? We have at present in the Bombai Presidency a Bengali gentleman as a Sessious Judge. Now, there may be abler men in the service, but one more respected by the people, or regarded with greater feelings of affection, is nowhere to be found (Cheers). Then Gentlemen, our opponents often say that the relations

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PROFESSOR G K... GOKHALE

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between Hundrs and Mahomedans in this country are such that Hindus will not submit to the anthority of Mahamedana or Mahamedana to the authority of Hindu Collectors and Judges But lot those who rashly encourage such feelings hewere of what they do. For if once such feelings were to prevail generally what would there he to stand in the way of their applica tion to the case of smaller officers also, such as Pahsildars Subordinate Judges and Police Officers? And then the task of Government would be impossible unless indeed the country were cut un into two camps and the Hindus shut up in one and the Mahomedans in the other Then Gentlemen at a often proved that the Provincial Service has been specially constituted for us and that we should be satisfied with it Well, all I can say in regard to Provincial and Statutory Services is that they can never satisfy the people. Take, for instance, the Bombay Provinceal Service. I have paid some close attention to this subject, and I have no having tion in saving that as at present constituted it is a discrete to the Government and an insult to the neonle. There is not a single redeeming feature in it. I will give you only one illus tration Take the standard that the Bombay Government has prescribed for the competitive examination for this service. Remember, Gentlemen, these members of the Provincial Service are one day to be appointed to the posts detached from the Covenanted Service and thus placed on a level with men who have passed the London Civil Service examination. which is nerhans the stiffest examination of any that we know of And yet what is the standard of education that the Government of Bombay has proposed for the competitive test? The Government of Bombay proposed that these men should know English sufficiently to anderstand official Reports (Laughter and Cries of Shame") This is all they want As regards the second language there is no classical language, Sanskrit, Persian, or Greek All that is expected of these men is that they should show a moderate acquaintspice with one of the vernaculars of the Presidency Perhaps you may say if the literary side is defective the mathematical side is strong. These men are probably required to pass an examination in differ ential and integral calculus. No! nothing of the kind. These men have to make a reamination in Arithmetic up to simple interest (Laughter) not compound interest, Alcebra up to simple equations (Laughter) not Quadratic Equations, and the first two hooks of Englid This is all the Mathematical test. These men are one day to take their places by the side of men who have passed the London examination one of the stiffest and severest examinations which is equivalent to the M A examination. When those men come to be appointed to these posts, is it possible for them to command respect? Is it possible for them to respect themselves? The whole of the Provincial scheme of the Bombay Government is so utterly ludicrous that it is impossible to believe that it emanated from a responsible Govern ment. All that we say therefore is that no solution of the question based on a Provincial Service will ever satisfy us 'Cheers' Taking a dispassionate view of the whole situation, we have every right to urge that Simultaneous Examinations ought to be granted to us and so I am glad to say that taking the whole thing into account there are good grounds for hope It may be that for a moment we have been east down by defeat but the circumstances to day are more encouraging than they were several years before when our leaders fought amplehanded for the Indian people to get the concession we have been praying for Whatever may be said of the Madras Government and in whatever way the officials of that Government may now act the despatch of that bovernment remains a document of which the Madras people may well be proud. We have the resolution of the House of Commons. Listly we have a strong public opinion becoming stronger and stronger every day, which may inspire us to con time the fight which is bound to be a long and ardaous one in behalf of generations vet nnborn (Loud Cheers)

Mr. Guclan Assen Kess, of Berar addressed the meeting in Hindustani

Mr Sermour Kray -Mr President, Fellow-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, at this ate hour I only venture to say that I have one claim to come forward and to detain you N. RAT

for a few moments, and that claim consists in the fact that I was privileged to do something towards the carrying of the successful division in Parliament with regard to these Simul taneous Examinations, (Cheers) and that division was made successful, I may say, entirely because of the solid phalanx of devotion to India which we, who whipped up that division, found in the ranks of the Irish Parhamentary Party, (Cheers) of which your President is such a worthy and an honoured member Well, Gentlemen, I also have the honour to be the member of the House of Commons to whom Mr Gladstone gave (in answer to a ques tion of mine) the promise which was the foundation of all the subsequent proceedings. The promise as you know was very fairly worded. The promise was that the Government of India would be addressed at once and that they were to be asked to say "In what mode and under what conditions and limitations the Resolution of the House could be carried out? Now, Gentlemen, we at once said that that was a satisfactory statement. There was no state ment whatever that the Government of India was to be asked whether or not the Resolution of the Honse of Commons was to be carried out. There was nothing of the kind. It was only in what mode and under what conditions or limitations the Resolution of the House could be carried out (Hear, hear) Well then in this form the matter went to the India Office What happened then? The India Office in the first place waited for tventy days and did nothing, as was quite characteristic of them in such cases (Laughter) They then wrote to the Government of India a brief letter, which has been well described by the mover of this Resolution They certainly put into that letter the very words which Mr Gladstone had promised to me should be used hut they added at the tail end of the letter a scornion like sting That sting was that they added the so called "essential condition" of which you have heard to day, namely, that there should be an irreducible minimum of Europeans in the service for ever, and for all time to come (Hear, hear) Now, it is very seldom that I have any occasion to come forward as an apologist for the doings of the Government of India. But I must say that on this occasion justice should be done to them by putting the boot upon the proper leg, and the proper leg to put the boot upon is the leg of the Secretary of State and his Conneil in London (I augh'er) Because what he did was to append this condition for the consideration of the Government of India along with and in opposition to Mr. Gladstone's promise He did this simply for the purpose of rendering it impossible for the Government of India to reply in any other terms than that they could not carry out the Resolution I will do the Government of India justice to say that they told this to the Secretary of State to his face You must allow me to quote from their reply to the despatch. They could not speak clearer and they could not say in plainer words that he, and not they, was responsible for the adverse reply They said to the Secretary of State, ' in referring the matter for our considera-"tion, your Lordship has pointed out that it is indispensable that an adequate number of the "members of the Civil Service should be Europeans and that no scheme would be admissible "which does not fulfil that essential condition" They go on to say, "But it appears to us (the "Government of India) that this condition if conceded, is itself destructive of the Resolution which requires that all who compete should be finally classed in one list according to their "ment' They then conclude as follows - We are therefore compelled to the conclusion that "to gave effect to the Resolution in its entirety is wholly incompatible with the essential cond-"tion on which your Lordship has so strongly insisted" (Cheers) Well, Gentlemen, I have cleared the Government of India from a part of the odium at all events, but not from all I fear I must admit that they were only too willing to find the essential and impossible condition in the Secretary of State's letter

They then proceeded with the solemn farce of sending out the letter to their subordinates, and what did they do then? They then ventured to super impose even more impossible conditions, in order further to secure a reply in the negative. That is how the farce went on In the few moments which I have, I will only call your attention to one or two of the most extraordinary arguments which have been used against Similtaneous Examina-

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Mr. Setmáde Keát —— Third Day

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Mr SETMOUR

Kray

tions in the Blue Book, and which have not been adverted to on this platform to day What are we told in the first place? The Bombay Government was good enough to come forward and say that they recognised that the desire on the part of the natives of India to enter their own Civil Service is amite a natural aspiration But what do they imme dately add? They say that though it may be quite a natural aspiration, 'we cannot suppose that this aspiration could be a ground for serious political action." The Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab goes further still He also admits the aspirations of the natives for employment in the administration of their country but declares, in so many words, that they should not be given the weight of a feather (Si ame) if they conflict with British ideas of what they think hest for the benefit of the people Gentlemen, the henefit of the people fills these papers like a flowing river \othing whatever is said about the loss of European appointments Oh no On the contrary, what is the chief reason given by the Government of India themselves and adopted by the Secretary of State for refusing these Examinations? It is not that there would be a single European shut out of the service Nothing of that sort Never for a moment The reason is stated to be then burning fear that the Sikhs and Mahome dans of the North would possibly be excluded from public employment (Cheers) Then there is the question which was mentioned by a previous speaker. It had been alleged that the Bengalis would monopolise the service A previous speaker well said that the Bengalis are after all nearer to the other nations than Europeans But the Government of India just places that upside down and declare in unmeasured terms that the greatest nossible and the crowning advantage of the European is that he is an absolute alien both by relation and by race Why? Because in consequence of his absolute non-connection with the people he is perfectly certain not to take sides in local quarrels You cannot fail to see the absolute dishonesty of that argument, because if it were an argument at all, I need not asy that it would apply to England just as well as to India, and it would be just as true to say that for that reason it would be for the benefit of England and that England would be much better off. if her Civil Service were to be peopled by Russians instead of by Englishmen (Cheers)

Well, Gentlemen I don't think I need go further in showing the absolute insincerity and hypocrisy which obtains throughout these despatches I want to know why there is only one thing which is not found in the whole of the hundred and ten pages of that Blue Book There is not a hint or whisper in it of any admission that the natives of Iudia have even the faintest right to live on their own soil much less that they have any preferential claim over the other subjects of the British Empire to administer in their own country On the contrary there is the direct opposite of each an admission, and there is a deliberate denial of this written on the face of these papers by responsible Governors, and by Mr. Garstin of Madras They actually set forth this glaringly absurd argument —that if you were to allow the Indians to hold examinations in India it would be nothing less than a scandalous injustice to the inhabitants of other parts of the British Empire, such as New Zea land, Australia and even far-off Canada Why did not they put into the Blue Book another thing which they have omitted Why didn't they come forward plumply and honestly and say 'We have a great many comfortable appointments and we want to keep them for our selves '? Why, I can respect a class of officials who come forward with honest truth in their mouths like that, but I repel the suggestion that any of the arguments to be found in any of these papers can be treated as having the faintest tings of honesty or statesmanship On the contrary, they are crammed with phrases of Pecksniffian hypocrisy I will now close as the gong has already sounded, with one sentence which, on careful examination and perusal, defines what has been done in these papers I say that the decision which has been passed upon them is in the first place a frightful injustice perpetrated on the Indian people, in the second place it is a gross unfairness committed against the Government of India's own officers, to whom this matter was pretended to be referred for their impartial opinion, and in the third place I say that it is a breach of faith with the House of Commons. Yes, Gentle men, we will be prepared to stand by what we say, that it is nothing more nor less than a positive breach of faith with the British Parliament, (Cherra) and I join with other speakers and with you in trusting that we are very fai from finished yet with this matter of Simultaneous Examinations. We have once defeated our own Government for your sakes and we are parfectly prepared to defeat them again. (Cleers) If the fortune of the ballot gives us only a fair chance, we will have another Resolution this session. (Hear, hear) We will go on in the hope that we may at last be able to seeme the performance of what after all is nothing but the simplest act of ordinary pistice to the Indian people. (Cherrs)

THE PRESIDENT —Let those who are in favour of this Resolution hold up their hands (Voices All, All)

The Resolution was carried unanimously

The Persident —The next resolution will be moved by the Honorable Mr N Subba Row

The How Mr. N. Schal Row —Mi. President, Fellow delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is to the fitness of things that this Resolution should come at the fag end of the day, for you know the accouncement made by the President that we are to disperse at 4 o'clock

THE PRESIDENT -No. no

THE HOM ME N SURBA ROW —I am corrected by the President that we shall go on up to a late hour However, in the fitness of things it comes as it were at the fag end of the day because this fact illustrates the manner in which the work is done in our Motiseil District and Sessions Courts The resolution which I have the honour to place before you is a very simple and a very short resolution. The resolution is this —

"This Congress views with great dissatisfaction the system of recruiting the higher Judicial Service of the country, and is of opinion that provision should be made for proper Judicial training heigh given to persons who are appointed to the post of Dietrict and Sessions Judge and that the higher Judicial Service in Bengal the North West Provinces and Ondo Bombay and Madras and the Judicial Service generally in other parts of the country shoold be more largely recruited from the legal profession that is now the case

I shall simply state a few facts in support of the resolution just now placed before you, and I shall confine myself briefly to the Province to which I belong namely, the Madras Presidency In this Presidency the office of the District Judge is recruited from the ranks of Sub Collectors, officers who have epent the greater portion of their official life in executive work, and who by the time they come to be appointed as District Judges are well imbued, as it were with an executive frame of mind, not with a judicial frame of mind. It is these gentlemen that are called upon to discharge the responsible and important duties of nre siding over the highest Court in each district Now these officers of the Sub Collector's grade-are they men who have distinguished themselves in the service, who have shown, in the course even of their executive work their comprehensive grasp of the matters placed before them? Are they men who have the highest ability, the highest talents? I regret to say that generally it is not so The department of the Judicial service has not earned the reputation of being recruited from men who have distinguished themselves by their ability or whose services have earned the reward of a seat on the hench However, even granting that these officers are mee of ordinary average service, we shall see how this selection is further made These officers when they are once appointed are not allowed to continue to discharge the duties of the new office Once a Sub Collector is appointed to the grade of a Dis trict Judge, there is oo gnarantee that he will be returned in that office, to-day a Sub Collector, to-morrow an acting District Judge, the third day an acting District Collector, and back

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Mr. Setnour Kray

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again the fourth day an acting D strict Ind_e, forwards and backwards till by some chance or it may be by some specially menterions had act. (Laughter) he is finally fixed to the Dis trict Judge's place (Stame) Such is the mode in which the indicial service in this Presi dency-I say it without any fenr of contradiction-is recruited and when it is so recruited lo you wonder that the undered server has become to be regarded as the inferior service, and that it is not generally coveted by members of the Civil Service? Gentlemen, the result of the present system is seen in the kind of work turned out by our District Judges, and the kind of work tornel out is notice I verrafter year in our administration reports and is viewed with dis satisfaction I have been connected with mofusul district courts for the last fifteen years, and I must say I conem with the wording of this resolution very strongly Even though our District Judges are of some years' standing some of them, I may say most of them, cannot write judge ments according to the Code of Civil Procedure—the A D C of the Law which they are called upon to administer (Shame) I know of specific judgments which have been returned for this reason to a District Judge of some years' standing in the Service It is no wonder, therefore, of these officers saturated with the executive training which they have previously received, should not consider it of the first importance to hear the pleaders engaged in cases fully. thoroughly, and with the greatest patienen, und we need not be surprised even if a District Judge should come to the bench with a written judgment before hearing the arguments of the Bar (Shame) These are the District Judges who have got appollate jurisdiction over experi enced subordinato Judges and District Mansills in our Presidency These are the District Judges who are the final arbiters in all regular appeals, who are the final arbiters in all small cause suits and who have unlimited jurisdiction in all property cases. Now with the improvement in character, and advancement in knowledge of law on the part of the o subordinate Judges and District Mansills, and with a progressive Dar at each centre of the district the inferiority of the District Judges is becoming day by day more and more apparent I shall trouble you only with a short quotation from the Ad ministration Report of this year It says, "It is impossible to view the results of the "year with entire approval, and in certain cases they can only be described as eminontly "unsatisfactors" Yot it is these Judges who preside over the highest Court in the district, and have Appellate inrisdiction over experienced Subordinate Jadges. You will believe me when I say that one District Judge heard eight appeals from the Subordinate Judge and reversed overy one of them, though that Subordicate Judge was a very experienced man and had been in service for several years as a District Manaiff and as a pleader for a good many years more and received vory different treatment at the hands of the High Court in certain other judgments which came up on appeal (Hear, hear)

Now, in thes drawing a gloomy picture of our halls of justice let me not be onderstood as fin ling fault with the Government officers who are called upon to preside over the Court They are men of high culture It is not their facilt, but it is the fault of the system which calls upon them without sufficient truoing to fill the high and responsible position of dispensing jostice beween man and man. This is not their fault, it is the facilt of the system to which we have all to submit and besules, there is one other important circomstance which adds as it were, to the inferiority of the District Judges That is the canons of judging the efficiency of the judicial officers. The canon is not to judge by the mainty of work but by the quantity of work turned out by the m-not by the soundness or justice of their decisions but the number of the decisions in livered That is the canon that prevails throughout all the Courts in the Madras Presidence It is that canon which is responsible for the deterioration of this class of officers, and with a large number of electering and reports and text books flooding us every day, we have no reason to find fault with D strict Judges for not living posted in these discisions. They have no time to read them. They have no previous training to follow them with interest, it is no congenual task with them, and, therefore, you should not blame them if they are driven more and more to brush aside all artificial law, and to rely on their nwn unadulterated common sense (Laughter) For the reason I have stated, we ought not to be surprised if our District Judges come to consider that "sofficient unto the day is the evil thereof", and that this explatory period of judgeship must somehow or other he gone through in order to earn their pension of £1,000 a vear for the work they have done in this commiry (Hear, hear)

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Of course, I must not be understood as saying that, in this large class of Judicial officers we do not knumble now and then on some really good and efficient District Judges What is the feeling of these good District Judges-men who have taken congenially to the task and distinguished themselves in the service? I may tell you that I had recently a conversation with one of the most emment and satisfactory District Judges of this Presi dency I had a talk with him on this subject, and he said "You know I was specially quali-"fied, you know I passed an examination in Law, I have been a Registrar in the High Court . "and will you believe me," he added, "when I first took my seat as a District Judge, my heart "sank within me at the thought of my responsibility in administering law". That was the feel ing which that emment and most satisfactory Judge expressed to ms only recently, and he requested me to press the matter strongly upon Government and see that the present mode of recruitment is hettered (Cheers) Gentlemen, if the evil stopped here, there might be some satis faction Unfortunately, the evil does not stop here. According to our rules according to our Charter, one third of our High Court Judges should be recruited from this class, the class about which we are speaking, that is to say, two judges of the High Court should be recruited from this class. What is the result of this system of recruitment? You have only to ask any of the lawyers practising in the High Court and Mofussil Courts No eminent lawyer will care to predict what turn any case may take in any particular Court I must say this eystem is responsible for a substantial increase in litigation, in fact, litigation has become a question of gambling, a question of toss up, and no one can be sure, notwithstanding he has a good case, that that would be the view which would prevail in the Courts (Shame)

I am glad to think that there is some hope that this state of things may come to an end at no distant future. For when the unsatisfactory state of recruitment of our Judges. was brought to the notice of His Excellency Lord Wenlock, His Excellency said that the present condition of affairs was not so satisfactory as it might be, and that the subject was receiving the careful consideration of Government I am sure you will join me in the hope that before Lord Wenlock leaves these shores, His Excellency will see that this necessary re form is given effect to, and will leave behind him a permanent mark of his good intentions and broad sympathies (Hear, hear) I am encouraged to indulge this hope, because it is during his tenure of office that the first instalment of reform, the separation of rudicial from executive functions, has been curried into effect. This is the first Presidency in which that reform has been carried into effect in the subordinate ranks of the Magistracy, and the result of that reform has been a great success, and has given great satisfaction to all the people of this country We thank the Madras Government, not simply for the reform which is of im mediate benefit to us, but for the example which it has set to other Governments showing that the question of separating executive from judicial functions can be solved without diffi culty (Cheers) Therefore, I say we have very good reasons for viewing with dissatisfaction the system of recruiting the higher judicial service in this country. The remedy which we suggest is that it should be more largely recruited from the legal profession than is now the case Now on that point I have only to draw your attention to the remarks of Sir Charles Paul, Advocate General of Calcutta, in an interview which he had with Sir Raymond Blathwayte These remarks are of very great significance in connection with this subject. He says, "It is " a mistake in these advanced days in appoint Civilians in high judicial posts which ought to " be filled properly by thoroughly trained and thoroughly experienced Barristers and Pleaders "What can an ordinary Civil Servant however intelligent and well educated he may be,

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"of Fuglish and Mahomedan laws? We have a number of codes, all of a strictly technical "character, based principally on English Law Now, it often happens that Sectional "orders issued by Government do not clearly and expressly state the law on the points to "which they refer ft is taken for granted that the Administrator Judge or Magistrate. "knows the law, but he frequently, being a Civilian, does not know it ft is absolutely "necessary, therefore, for men who have to construe these Sections to be accumulated with the "principles on which they are founded It is hopeless to expect men merely by the light of "nature to arrive at a proper interpretation of the Sections Many years of extensive practice "and a long familiarity with principles and cases, will along fit a man for so great a task. I "would here particularise the frequent unfamiliarity of all non-professional Judges with the "law of evidence Points of law which stree in the course of the examination of witnesses "require to be readily decided | f do not think that under our present system there is sufficient "ability or embrittenment for that purposo" this is the conception which Mr Paul, the Advocate General, formed I am sure every one who has get any knowledge of the working of our Courts will agree with him that the main source from which the indiciary should be recruited should be the Bar (Hear, hear) You will note that we do not go so far as Mr Paul's remarks He says the judiciary should almost exclusively be recruited from the Bar. What we say is that it should be more largely recruited from the legal profession than it is now. So far as the Madray Presidency is concerned, this is not at all done. Therefore, we ask that at least some attempt should be made in that direction. So far as the scheme of recruiting the service is concerned, it is a large scheme which has to be worked out So far as I am concerned I have thought at out, but it is unnecessary to nisce those thorea before you Seeing that British Justice is the stronghold on which we rely, we ask that those who preside over these Coarts should be able to dispense justice between man and man, which is the point on which British prestigo is so much founded (Cheers)

Mr. K. G NATO

Ms K G Nary -Mr President, Brother Delegates and Gentlemen, in seconding this resolution I have much pleasure in testifying that the subject matter of this resolution forms the marrowboso of British justice and British administration. Time was when justice trombled when it had to deal with a powerful man. The aggreed party, if weak, saw hardly any hopes of getting redress when ho had to costend with a millionaire In fact. Might and Right went hand in hand They were synonymous terms But there was a dawn of better things, British light and British power came into this country, and with it also British justice You have observed low at times even the greatest men have been brought to natice before the bar of Parhament I am saying this, simply because I want to innerest upon you the importance of justice, and to show what sort of men are sent out here in order to administer noble justice Civilians are sent out to this country by Government Very well! But as soon as they have come, as soon as they have spent a few months in getting a smattering of the language of the district, they are placed in charge of three or four talues. with nowers magneterial and over the revenue, and you know that a Magnetrate is as much a Judge as any Frequently justice mis-curries owing to ignorance of the language. How often have you heard of violent hands being laid on poor syces by their angry masters owing to ignorance of the language For instance the expressions घडामुर्यातनाथ and नामत यडीमागते are literal translations of the corresponding Fughish phrases "Tic the horse in the san," and "I have got a cold in the nose" (Laughter) But what Mahratha is there who pretends to understand the meaning conveyed by them? I remember a well-known Judge who laid claim to being a thorough Mahratha scholar, and who for many years presided at the Zilla sessions fu a case tried by him, one of the witnesses happened to any रायाचा अध्य The judge got out of temper and said to the witness "You are a down right har llow the devil ran you change silver into copps ?" (Laughter) After his first fary was over he was told that Tarilay means a vessel of any metal and not necessarily of copper. This was the case with a man who laid pretensions to scholarship You may easily pudge of these who come to India and pass in the Ver machlars of the country in about a couple of months (Hear, hear) Therefore the requisite in the course of judicial training is a thorough knowledge of the language and habits of the people, and the next thing is a knowledge of the law of the land The Civil Service Examination held in Fogland prepares a kind of general groundwork, but it does not qualify the student for any special branch This has to be studied as a speciality. He comes here as a Collector, occupies that position for a few months, then he is transferred to the office of Assistant Judge. with appellate powers, both in civil and criminal cases Now, I can understand the sudden change of status But I cannot understand that a sudden change of status is commensurate with a consistent change of character. It is not possible that the change is sufficient to introduce into the mind of the man't thorough knowledge of the Hinda or Mahomedan laws. or of the Civil Procedure, as soon as he is transferred from the place of Collector to the place of Judge It is impossible The worst of it is not come, it is yet to come Government has of late created a number of Judges called the benches of Magastrates I have every regard for the system, the system is not to be found fault with, it is the men that fill the posts, who are placed as Magnetrates to govern us. They can send a man to prison for two years They are a class of Magistrates sent out to us who have spent their lives in counting figures, men who lad to find lovels and to construct landges, men who knew nothing but to live on uncestral property, who had nothing to do but to goesip, men who are perfectly innocent of law or procedure. These men are made to set in judgment, to decide upon the nrgumonts adduced before them. They are the men who are to draw the line of demircation as to where the criminal ends and the civil begins, (I aughter) and yet they sit is indigment upon us , they are to decide most important questions of life and liberty, and I may say, with sheer disregard to the cause of justice. This creation of Judges, this mode of administering instice, really lowers in the eyes of the people that deep respect and profound veneration with which the surrounding nations have looked upon British administration and justice. I would therefore humbly pray to Government 'Train your Judges and let them judge" With these for remarks I second the proposition (Cleers)

The President —A representative from Tinnevelly, Mr A R Krishna Iyer, has expressed a wish to speak on this resolution I now call upon him to speak

Mr. A R Kei and Ivre -Brother Delegates and Gentlemen, the proposition that I have the honour to support is a proposition that has already been proposed by Mr Subba Row Coming to my arguments mamediately, we all know what an important part practice plays in the development of theory in all sciences. Theory and practice are so related to one mother that the one assists the other in various ways. The interrelation between theory and practice is so great that nothing need be said about the inter relation between the two, and Law being a highly complex science, the plea of practice upon theory is here illustrated to a greater extent than in any other department of knowledge. It is only when the rs is put into practice that theory is better understood, and this is pre eminently so in the highly complex department of the science of Law Thirefore Centlemen, we see what trained legal practitioners can do towards admini tering justice as Judges. The sphere of an executive officer is entirely separate from the sphere of a judicial officer, the frame of mind calculated to make u cood Judge is different from the frame of mind which makes a good Collector One is an executive officer, the other is a judicial officer The District Judge or any other Judge will be presed if le takes time to write a judgment, even in a small and simple suit, whereas a Coll ctor will be blamed if he hesitates, even if the hesitation be properly grounded, even for five minutes, with reference to a quarrel or an affray Wlat is wanted for one frame of n ird is the power of grapping with difficulties. There is not time enough for the Collecter to grapple with difficulties. But the Judge is more calm, he is better fitted to exercise his

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MR A R KRISHNA

duties as a judicial officer. Such heing the wast difference between the frame of mind cal culated to fill the responsible position of a Collector and that required for filling the responsible position of a District Judge or any other Judge, we must take care that such officers alone are appointed for filling the post of Collector and for filling the post of Indee as have the necessary qualifications, while to transplant an officer from one department to another will be a serious absurdity (Loices Time, Time) Therefore on other grounds also I heartly support the Resolution that has already been seconded (Cheere)

The Resolution was carried unanimonaly

THE PRESIDENT -The next resolution will be moved by Dr. Bahaduru of Bombay Dr. Ranapern -Mr. President, Brother Delegates and Gentlemen the Resolution that has been entrusted to my eare reads as follows -

- (a) That this Congress is if opinion that the present constitution of the Higher Civil Medi and Service is anomalous indefensible in principle injurious in its working, and unnecessarily costly. that the time has arrived when in the interests of Public Medical Education and the advancement of Medical Service and of scientific work in the country, as also in the cause of economic administration, the Civil Medical Service of India should be reconstencted on the basis of such service in other civilized countries wholly detached from and independent of the Military Service
 - (b) That the very unsatisfactory position and prospects of Members of the Sabordinate Civil Medical Service (Assistant Surgeons and Civil Hospital Assistants) compared with members of similar standing in other departments of the Publin Service, require thereagh investigation and redress and prays that Government will grant for the purpose an open enquiry by a mixed Commission of official and non-official members
 - (c) That whilst this Congress views with satisfaction the desira of the Imperial Govern ment to re organise the Chemical Analyser's department with a view to its administration as an independent seirntific department at carnestly hopes that Government will not fail to recornise the responsible and mentorious work of Assistants or as they in reality are, Government Chemical Analysers, and place them on the footing of Specialists

The subject of the resolution I have just read to you has engaged such a considerable share of public attention since it was first spoken to from the Congress platform last year, that I need hardly enter into details again The question of Simultineous Examinations is, no doubt of great importance to the public, but you will agree with me that the subject of the medical service of the country is of equal, if not greater, public importance, and that it is a matter of surprise and regret that it should have so long remained unnoticed by our popular lenders They would seem not to have noticed that, in the very matter of Simultaneous Examinations, the Covenanted Civil Medical Service of India most directly demonstrates that the opponents of Simultaneous Examinations have rather overstated their case and drawn on their imagination as regards the size qua non of a long residence in England for the accurring of that mental, moral and magnetic equipment which alone can import the necessary administraine ability and courage, and social adaptability to Indian youths as members of the I C S lor, indeed, many an Indian member of the Covenanted 1 M S had only to voyage to Figland to pass the Burlington House I xamination to ebtain his commission, and this accom plished (in a few weeks after urrival in Fugland), he lad only to put in his regulation six months at Notley before he returned to Judia as a member of the 1 M S. What, then, have the opponents of Simultaneous Framinations to say to the fact that Indian Members of the Covenanted I M S sequired administrative ability, courage and social adaptability, qualities required in no smaller degree in the military than in the civil department, but also imbibed martial spirit by a mero effort of a trip across the sea to obtain a commission in Her Majesty's army ? (Laughter)

To examine briefly the subject of the Peselution, let us study the different parts accurately. I shall deal mainly with the first two sections, leaving the last to my friends

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who will follow me. The first part says that the constitution of the higher Civil Medical Service is anomalous, indefensible in principle, injurious in its working, and very costly, and prays that the constitution be revised and remodelled on the basis of what obtains in other eivilised countries. To realise the absurdity and the mischief of the present constitution of our higher Civil Medical Service, let us contrast it with what it is all the world over. The Civil Medical Service of any country is concerned with the several departments of education, of samitation, of special scientific and expert work, us of chemical analysis and of civil medical relief. The practice outside India is to recent the service from the open profession of a edicine and science, the necessary qualifications being a special truming and ability, and no nere ordinary practising becase or degree men are found for posts and not posts for men. But in India it is far otherwise. The selection is restricted to a small class of men who form the stock in trade, so to say, of a military depot, called the Indian Medical Service. The competition for this service is open to any one who possesses a British qualification in medicine, surgery and inidwifery. Many of our griduates, and even placked students, who could afford a trip to England, scored such easy suctories in the competition some years are that their overwholming numbers ruled an alarm and kd to the closing of the service against them for the time being. It was thrown open agun, but some agency or mestic force has since prevented the Indian candidates from regaining their old position in the pass list This coveranted military service requires for its own military purposes—the purposes for which the enlistment is intended-some 170 men, but, like all depots which have a large stock of articles lying idle, this service depot has more than twice that number of men for whom the Military Department has no room or work, and it is for these military men that work is found in the Civil Department as posts become available, and they are trutted out in ulain clothes as professors or political agents, guardians of pul birds, or Civil Surgeons, Sanitary Commissioners or Chemical Analysers, etc., etc., under orders from the Civil Surgeon-General, also a medeen militaire in plain clothes Scientific and expert advisers to all others civilised Governments are individuals who have worked at special and scientific subjects and possess special qualifications list in India it is a single individual who advises Covernment on all matters connected with the science of medicine. He is the Civil Military Surgeon-General, 10, the Surgeon-General in plan clothes He rises to that position not by virtue of any scientific work or ment, but by a special process of development through the grades of Cantaines, Majorship, Major-General-hip to which he must gravitate by the mere weight of he ire And the mere fact of his donmog the bat of the Surgeon-General is taken by Government to infuse into his head the expert knowledge not in one branch but in all the different departments of science and medicine (Laughter)

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Medical Service

Dr. Banat Cari

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had any training in Biology-has not even looked into the inside of a frog-becomes gifted with the audacity, not to say confidence, to pretend to examine our Arts and Science Graduates in Comparative Anatomy Under this absord and mischievous systom the Professor of Zoology has to be a born Ophthalmologist and tice tersa. What does the teaching in Biology consist of? Some two dozen readings from text books from a pulpit decorated with hottled pr kles of zoological specimens, the readings over, the class repurs to a museum where a single personally conducted tour by some obliging curator begins and completes the course of practical zoology | Is this not a fraud both on the University and on the public ' Under this unnatural system, a Chemical Examiner who has not a day's expenses of his work to boast of and whilst ho is still learning his work from his assistant considers it a very natural thing to report on the work of his assistant from the superior place into which he finds himself patchforked Again the teaching of Physiology, for instance, may continuo to be of the most primitive kind, till an outsider exposes if, works violent changes in the College, and causes the teaching of this very important subject to be intrusted to capable and projer lands. Under this system again Government them selves hy attempting to extort all possible knowledge from a medical head which they cover with the Surgeon General's topee, as a matter of course, when the individual arrives at the age of investiture, make themselves the laughing stock of the thinking world by the novel ideas extracted from some Singeon General Not so long ago a Surgeon General deliterately declared that experimental physiology had nothing to do with vivisection It does not require much technical knowledge to understand that the very contrary is the case, for physiclony deals with the phenomena of life and ex perimental physiology deals with experiments on hving beings Agrin Government medical advisors may not know the ordinary requirements of scientific research. Three laboratories in the Bombay Presidency have been rendered neeless for the purposes for which they were hult Oue has been turned into a carcase incinerator, another into a go down and the third one Lord Harris assured us the other day would be put to some useful purpose and he further nespred us that after all the expenditure on these was not a matter of lakhs but only thousands Not only this the Times of India remarked the other day that for scientific purposes a pound of 100 or a pico worth of kerosine oil would give a bacteriologist any desired temperature for his cultivation purposes This knowledge was unfortunately not in the possession of the highly paid scientific advisers of Government, who were compelled to vote further same of money for the removal of their scientists and their baggage to more shady regions. But one need not multiply these instances The monopoly of the I M S not only recoils thus on the heads of the monopolets themselves but what is more important from the joint of view of the interests of the country itself, it prevents all growth of tilent in the country degrades the profession of India, as we shall see pre ently (Applause)

It has been arged that the appointments must be so reserved for the In perial purposes of a Military reserve To begin with, a reserve of nearly 100 men for an effect tire service of less than half that number is an absurdity in which the inditary depart ment alone can read But the reserve argument accuses the Covernment of hypocrist and dishouesty The Government lave jublich declared that the medical schools were founded for the cultivation of the medical science of the West for the benefit and happi ness of the Indian people, and 'not for any Governmental or Executive wints' and that ther fostered the growth of science and higher education for their own sike then be no longer their intentions, or rather the intentions of our latter dis Govern ment let them say so honestly, and not keep poung as honest patrons of science and educrition The conditions an ler which the growth of science and inclical education has suffered so long carry their own condemnation, and it is time the Indian | coule and not only the profession, rose as the man to appeal to the authorities to emarcipate medical education and se ence from the throldon of an aggressive Military Department, which has no meral or legal right to the monopoly it has built up for itself (for their covenant is purely a military covenant, and has no reference whatever to any right—much less extraordinary right—to civil appoint ments). It is only by such emanageation of medical education and scenece, by throwing open their fields of work to the best talent available in Europe or in India, that India can hope to advance to a forward place in the march of civilisation in the matter of scientific assimilation and growth. (Loud Applicates)

Scientific Congresses in a land where science is allowed no fair play, and where there is no such thing is a scientific profession, are but false emblems of scientific progress I was asked to join the Calcutta Medical Congress I should have been delighted to take part in any proper Medical Congress But J did not join this Calcutta Congress for the simple reason that it is no genuine Congress of a homogeneous liberal profession Compared with genuine Congresses it had the elements of sham and hypocrisy in its very constitution For, look the facts strught in the face. Here is a group of men-the monopolists-asking their bondsmen to rub shoulders with them just for the purposes of a good gathering. Men who have been looked upon as an inferior lot, incapable to rise to the position of their teachers in their own alma mater, unfit to take part in the work of scientific medicine, are now suddenly considered fit to discuss scientific works with masters and superior persons A mere Congress gathering gives no unity to the profession in India, and removes not the unjustifiable limitations placed on its Indian members. The question of economy having been fully discussed on previous occasions need not be again taken up now Only recently some military scenes have occurred in the matter of some dozen appointments which have increased the military expenditure by thousands and it was time the whole question was gone into by an open public inquiry (Cheers)

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Resolution VIII

Dr BAHADURÍI

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but Pande the non Clristian must be same higher test they both to through the same professional course and examination If anything. Pandu has to undergo a severer examina tion John the Christian then hegins as a Military Apothecary, and works under the regi mental Surgeons His salary ranges from Rs 50 to Rs 450 He may, however, he promoted to the ancovenanted grade and given even Re 750 hy heing found a post in the Civil Depart

ment His new designation is Assistant Surgeon, I M S, and he rises from the runk of Lieutenant to that of Major But Pandu, the non Christian begins as a Hospital Assistant and dies a Hospital Assistant (Shame) His work is as vast as it is responsible. He prace tises medicine, surgery and midwifery Heitis who really dispels the ignorance and premdice of the masses in regard to the western system of medicine He treats a thousand times more cases in a month than the highest officer of a hespital does in a year. On his indoment intelligence and integrity dopend the lives of his fellow citizens in the mofussil, questions of his and death turning upon the nature of h s evidence in medico legal cases. But, alas I the respectabilit, and responsibility of this most important servant of the State are in an inverse ratio and that too in very ahnormal proportions One feels almost ashamed to say that the non Christian Pandu who does such responsible and excellent work for the Government is paid no higher salary than is paid to a senior , unha wallah in the hospital or a cook or a coochman The scale of his pay is Rs 16 to Rs 80 odd (Shame) Can there be any other reason for this great difference in treatment between the Christian Apothecary and the graduate Assistant Surgeon and Hospital Assistant in every way his superior, and superior in many respects and could in others to his Christian brethren generally, than that the specially favoured class belongs to the Christian race ' (Loud cries of Staine) Is this religious tolerance or religious perseention by the polished methods of modern times? It is bard to believe that the responsible represent atives of Her Maresty in India can be at all aware of this sucredibly unfair treatment meted out to thou most responsible patient and faithful servants There is not a department of State administered by civilians pure and simple where any such hornble system of slavery is practised on its minor officers as has been so attociously done by military usurvers of the Civil Medical Department Will the public stand this any longer? Now that it has been familiarised with these manifest wrongs which scandalise the fair fame of British justice and fair play, it is its hounded duty to appeal to the authorities for immediate redress Let every nres dency town hold public meetings to memorialise Covernment for a public inquiry such as the Congress prays for and let the leaders of the people do their duty by the people and work for this public cause—a cause so intimately bound up with the material progress of the country (Loud and long continued Cheers)

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RAI BAHADOR P ANANOA CHARLU -MI President Delegates, Ladies and Gentle men, my appearance hefore you re due to a strong sense of duty in me to tell von all that the proposition which has just been placed before you is not the embodiment of a grievance on the part of medical men only. It is a question which is entitled to as serious a consideration as any other we have yet discussed or may yet discuss Dr Bahaduru has attempted and has succeeded in his attempt to open our eyes to a stupend ons wrong that is in our midst he has given you a great deal of information, and he has given you all that information with an eloquence which might have carried you away from the facts he spoke so eloquently that I have some fear that in your admiration for his elo quence you may not have noticed certa a contrasts to which attention is due I shall there fore-without eloquence-contrast those facts for your consideration He called your atten tion to the Medical Service which consists of a higher and a lower grade In the higher grade there are two states-one military and the other civil Enlistment for the military takes place in England enlistment for the Civil takes place in India. It is necessary to note that geographical peculiarity, because it will enable you to find out certain differences existing to which I shall presently call your attention Now to those who are enlisted in England the starting pay is Rs 300, to those who are enhated here the starting pay is Rs 100 To those

that belong to the Wilitary Service embited in Ingrand the goal in hope is Rs 2,000, to those that enter the Civil Military Service of this country the highest hope is Rs 200-not a question of thousands at all (Shame) another important feature that descries to be noticed is this To enter into the service recruited in India, those who wish to qualify for medical education have to be either Matricol ites, First Arts men, or Graduates, whereas for qualifying in England for the other highly paid Service the educational qualification is that they need not be even Under-graduates Now, there is another important circumstance worth noticing, which is this Under the Indian Medical Service you can rise up to what is called Assistant Civil Surgeon, you can never become a District Surgeon A comparison has been instituted between the Covenanted Civil Service and this In connection with that I may point out to von that although there is a covenant on the part of the Government with the persons who enter the Covenanted Civil Service, that certain appointments should be given to them-although some of those appointments are taken away or attempted to be taken away, yet here, without there being any such landing covenant, not a single District Surgeonship is open to be given to the person who graduates in this country If you want to become a Di trict Surgion go you must across the waters, go you must to pass the examination which shall give you an entrance into that service which I have described. In the lower, again, there are two classes. The facts have been mentioned, I shall simply call your attention to the contrast that exists. The 'Apothecary' was the former name, "Hospital Assistant" is the name hestowed on the less favoured gentlemen The anotherary's place is now taken by the more high sounding title of 'Assistant Surgeon" He indeed, is recruited in this country, but is attached to Military Service. he begins with a pay of Re 56 and may rise to Rs. 450, where as the other gentleman, the Hospital Assistant, having nearly the same medical training and education, I as to begin with Rs 16 and can never rise beyond Rs 80 The educational qualification apart from the medical training possessed by these gentlemen is also worths of contract The Fifth Standard is enough for the more highly paid man while the Soventh Standard is necessary for the less paid nan. Gentlemen, one further point of distinction I shall notice, and that is, the apotheory-the military apotheory or the Assistant Surgeon-must be Christian , the Hospital Assistant, he he ever so elever, can never enter that Service Now that is the main and the only distinction, and it earnes with it that the one m in who is a Christian begins with Rs 50 and rives to Rs 450, but the other man, not being Christian, has to begin with Re 16 and concludes with Rs 80 (Shame)

> Dr M. G Dzen woor

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Resolution VIII

Medical Service

RAI BABADUR P

ANANIA CHAPLE

DR M G DESANOOL - Mr President and Gentlemen You must have seen by this time that what we ask for is nothing more than to do away with the monopoly of all Civil Medical and Scientific appointments in this land by the Military Medical Service. We do not ask that the higher appointments in the Civil Medical and Scientific Service be given to one class or to another. What we ask is that these appointments shall be thrown open to all classes alike, Gentlemen, monopoly of every kind havits own peculiar evils, but in the case of filling appointments of a scientific nature, appointments which require scientific training and special qualifications, restriction in the selection of these appointments is productive of great evils and is most ansuitable Monopoly, Gentlemen, of this kind should have no place in the case of appointments relating to the scientific and nedical services, for the greater and wider the field of selection that is thrown open to such appointments, the better and the mure qualified are the men who can be obtained for these services. No political exigency can be called into requisition to support this monopoly, ac bureaucrat of the deepest dye can ery out danger to the State, even if the highest scientific and medical appointments are filled by men not belonging to the ruling class (Cheers) Therefore monopoly by the ruling class alone is unsuitable and nodesurable in this case. Monopoly again is unsuitable in this case because the monopoly was first created at a time when probably there was in this country no scientific medical profession existing, but now it is almost more than a third of a century that medical education and scientific education have been given in different centres of this country, and there is enough

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indigenous material violuced from these centres - It is therefore, high time that this mono poly should be broken, and thus indigenous material utilised in filling up the higher annountments of the scientific and medical service. There is again one advantage in nonz this material of indigenous character, there is a financial advantage, and therefore both in the interests of fur play and rastice, as well as of efficiency of service and economy of adminis trition, the sooner the monopoly is broken the better (Hear, I ear)

With regard to the third point of this resolution, what I have to say is, that this is the art time when our Congress shoold with one voice protest, and call the attention of Government to the desirability of romoving the disability under which the assistants of the Chemical Analyser's Department labour, a disability by which these centlemen, these hard worked servants of Government, are rendered incligible to attain the higher rinks of that same department Gentlemen, the assistants in reality do all the work, the work of a scientific nature and of special requirement. They do all the work of this department, while they are come elled to work under superiors who have very little special training, and who have no experience I speak on this subject from my own per onal experience Gentlemen, I may tell you in speaking of this personal experience that I am not standing here to air my own personal grevances, for although alter serving for thirteen years in the Government service I was compelled to resign that service, yet, I have nothing to gain, by airing my distances here, as I do not seek re entrance into the service, but still the experience which I have groced, the disgust which is occasioned in my mind at the treatment accorded me are well worth citing here so that this Congress may with one voice draw the attention of Government to the fact that the distibility in the Chemical Analyser's department abould be forthwith removed This is the proper time for the Congress to take up this question, because it is understond that the Government of Iudia intends to re-constitute this department on a botter hasis This re constitution has come to pass in this wise -only two years ago after the resignation of my service at Assistant to the Chemical Analyses, the Medical profession of Hombay and Calcutta took up that case They were impressed with the glaring injustice of that case, so they started an agitation, which continued from month to month, until two years had olspsed, and the attention of Government was directed to the impropriety, and to the most glaring injustice that is done to the Chemical Analyser class, and new in consequence of this agriculon, the Government of India has made up its mind to re constitute this department. It is, there fore, neeful for this Congress at this moment to draw the attention of Government to the fact, that the condition and status of the Assistants in this Depirtment and the disability under which they lat our should be taken into consideration while these rules are being framed. For, Gentlemen, when I was serving as Chemical Analyser to Government on one or two occasions it so happened that acting Chemical Acab sers were appointed who had no knowledge, no special truining in that department but who nevertheless were placed at the head of that department I thought that I might as well put in my claim to Leacting Chemical Analyser. but, Gentlemen the Surgeon General thought fit not to c mply with my request seeing that this was not allowed by the roles (Shame) If such a thing is n t allowed by rules let us now approach Government and say that as they are now re constituting the department, let them change the rules and let them make better provision for these Assistants (Hear lear) The President .- The eighth resolution has been duly proposed, seconded, and

supported I et all those who are in favour hold up their hands (Loices All All

The Resolution was curried meanimously

The President -I now call upon Pan lit Madan Mohan Malayiva to move the next resolution

PANIST MADAN MORAY MALAYIFA -- Mr Chairman, I thus and Gentlemen, it las

fallen to my lot to move the next Resolution which runs thus -(a) That this Congress in concurrence with the preceding Congress considers that the

Legalstive Councils PANCEL MADAY Maries Malarita

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creation of a Legislative Conneil for the Province of the Punjab is an also dute necessity for the good

government of that Province, and having regard to the fact that a Legislative Conneil has been created for the N W Provinces requests that no time should be lost in creating such a Council for the Phnjab

(b) That this Congress, in concurrence with the preceding Congress, is of opinion that the roles now in force under the Indian Councils Act of 1892 are materially defective and prays that His Excellency the Vicercy in Conneil will be pleased to have firsh roles framed in a libral spirit with a view to a better working of the Act and suited to the conditions and requirements of each Province

Now, Gentlemen, this question concerns the Legislative Connoils, which are practically the bodies which decide what taxation shall be imposed upon the people and how the revenues raised shall be spent, and in fact all questions which affect the weal and woe of the two hundred and odd millions of this country in the most important respect You remember, Gentlemen, that for years past the Congress laboured to bring about the reform of the Legislative Councils We laboured earnestly to bring about a reform of these Conneils by having an increase in the number of members who form those Councils, and by having a right of discussing the Budget, &c Our request was conceded, but in a very partial and limited manner The Indian Councils Act of 1892 was passed, by which the number of our members was partially increased and certain powers were conferred upon us. We might then have hoped that the Councils as now constituted, or rather reformed, would be something better than the Conneals which existed before these reformed Councils But, Gentlemen, I will invite your atten tion only to some points, to some facts, which have happened within the last 12 months, and ask you to say whether you consider that with all the reform that has been brought to you in these Councils, the Legislative Councils of India, including that of the Governor-Goneral in Council, are anything but shims, so far as the real and teno interests of the people of India are concerned (Cheere) Gentlemen, you will remember the debate on the Indian Tariff Bill, you will remember the debat on the Indian Councils Bill, you will remember how while there was a strong desire on the part of the members of the Councils, including, so far as one could see, His Txcelleney the Viceroy himself, to lavy, to re-impose, the cotton duties, the Council felt their bands fully restrained by a dictum of the Secretary of State for Indea, you will remember the piteous wailings of some of the members of the Council, the piteons tones in which some of the official members of the Councils tried to excuse their conduct by saying that they were bound, being official members, to vote in obedience to the orders of the Secretary of State for India (Slame, Shame, Gentlemen if there is one characteristic of Englishmen which distinguishes them above ill other people, which entitles them to the respect of nations more than anything else, it is their sense of duty (Cheers) We thought we were under the impression that an Eu lishman taking up any position of responsibility would lay aside all other considerations except those which stould govern his conduct in relation to those, for the betterment of whose condition and for the protection of whose interests he was appointed But, Gentlemen, here we have a sad confession of the weakness-slall I say something worse? No Centhmen, I will only say weatness, or let me say the powerlessness-of the official members, as confessed by themselves so far as the protecting of the mti rests of India is concerned. When the question of re-imposing the cotton duties comes up again, the permission which the Secretary of State has granted is accompanied by the mandate that this duty so urgently needed by the distressed condition of Indian finance cannot be re imposed unle s a countervaling exerce doty is imposed upon Indian manufactures (Hear, Fear) Gentlemen, what does it show? It fully demonstrates this said fact, that the Government of India is powerle s to protect the interests of Indiana Unfortunitely, they are not equally powerless when doing mischief to the people of Ind n (t.leers) You will remember, Gentlemen, bow the Lucharge Compensation Allowance was granted At that time the Covernment of India and the Secretary of State agreed together that Txchange Compensation should be allowed, and it was allowed. Therefore as natter stand now you find that the Government of India, as at present constituted, is powerless for the good of the

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MOHAN MALAVITA.

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Pandit Madab Moban Malaviya Indians in all matters affecting the finances of India, and is potent for mischief in relation to matters affecting those interests (Cherrs)

Gentlemen, I have not referred to this without an object, I only wish to point out to you the extremo necessity of having a further reform of these Councils, by means of which we might have a larger number of non official members in the Councils, armed with greater and more substantial powers to protect the interests of the people of this country. I was going to refer you to the division on the Indian Tariff Bill, simply to show you that so far as I see, every official member supported that measure which every non official member of the Viceroy's Council opposed. Here are the proceedings recorded, you have only this satisfaction, to see that the "Ayes" and the "Noes" are recorded, but beyond that they were powerless to protect you against the mustice wrought upon you Therefore, Gentlemen, it is a matter of extreme necessity, finding that the Official members of the Government of India are bound by the dictum of the Secretary of State, and finding also to our great regret that the Secretary of State, that high State dignitary is not gooded by his own reasonings, by his own wishes, by his own convictions, so far as one could judge them, but that he is guided by paltry party considerations, by a desire to please a few persons in Lancashire-it becomes extremely necessary that you should unite in a body to pray to Her Majesty to grant further reform of the Conneils (Cheery), in order that our interests may be protected. And now, Gentlemen, that is, no doubt, not before the Gongress at this moment, but all that I have brought it in for is to show you how very little, how very small, is the measure of reform that we seek of the Government in asking them to give us all that could be given, that can be liberally given. justly given, ander the Councils Act of 1892 If with the entire Council standing as it does against us, our interests cannot be fully protected, is there not the greatest reason why that should be conceded in the most liberal spirit, so that we might derive the greatest benefit we can from it? Has it been so conceded and has the Indian Councils Act of 1892 been so worked? You will remember your esteemed Chairman of the Reception Committee inviting your attention to the assertions of Mr Gladstone and Lord Salisbury in that connection your permission I should like to read those words again, to shew what hopes we were allowed to entertain, what promises were made to us Mr Gladstone speaking as the head of the Liberal party said, 'I believe I am instified in looking forward not merely to a nominal but "to a real living representation of the people" Lord Salisbury, on his side, speaking on the same subject, said in the House of Lords, "If wo are to do it, and if it has to be done, of course "accepting that it must be done, let us do it systematically, taking care that the machinery "provided dail effect the purpose of giving representation, not to accidentally constituted "bodies, not to small sections of the people here and there, but to the living strength "and vital forces of the whole community of India" (Cheers) Gentlemen, if the persons entrusted with the framing of the rules under the Act bere had been good enough to carry out the promises given by these responsible statesmen, given by the Under Secretary of State for India and the Secretary of State for India in that connection, we should have had little reason to complain so far as the rules of the Councils Act are concerned But, Gentlemen, while there is an extreme solicitousness to bring in the latest improvements of western science into India, where the interests of the people of India are not directly concerned, there is an extreme unwillinguess on the part of some of our Anglo Indian Administrators to introduce reforms in the political administration of the country, which centuries ago were pronounced to be beneficent, and which centuries ago were adopted in England You must have read, Gentlemen, most of you, that before the Reform Bill of 1832, there were what was called "rotten boroughs" in England What has become of those boroughs? I am sorry I am not able to lay my hands upon the book m which I read of them, and cannot therefore quote it in detail, but, as far as I remember, it was simply this, that there were half-a-dozen seats in Parliament owned sometimes by one rich man, ten seats owned by another rich man, and I believe there was one gentleman, a large landowner so far as I can remember, who had eleven seats in Parliament under his thumb (Laughter) Gentlemen, we thought that those times

had gone by, that the constitutional britles which the English people had fought, that the agitation which they had carried on had established the principle that "in the multitude of councillors there is wisdom"—that the greater the number of men who are admitted to a voice in the administration of the country, the greater is the chance of the administration being best conducted Therefore, Gentlemen, what we expected in every way was that the franchise would be conferred under the present Act—the Indian Councils Act of 1892—in as liberal a spirit as it could be (Cheers) MODAN MALAVITA

I will refer you to what has happened chiefly in Bombay and in the North-West Provinces I should not trespass upon the ground which will be taken up by my Bombay friends I will only briefly refer to it, and then I will say a few words with reference to the North West Provinces In Bombay, Gentlemen eight seats have been thrown open to the non officials, of these eight seats two have been given to the Bombay Corporation and Senate of the Bombay University, of the remaining six seats two together have been given to the Zemindars of Sind and the Chamber of Commerce at Kurrachee, one has been given to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, and two only to the general public A very important division, the Central division, which includes Poona and Satars, bas been excluded (Shame, Shame) Now, Gentlemen, I will only say this, that a system which leaves out a historical and well known place, a place which has been noted for the keenness of the intellect of its Brahmins and its other people, (Cheers) a place which is regarded by the people of the Deccan is the seat of Larning and piet; -a system which leaves out such a place, is a system which stands condemned by itself (Hear, hear) A few words with regard to the North West Provinces There it has been our lot to have the greatest share of this illiberal dispensation of the franchise Gentlemen, there are 103 Viuni cipalities in the North-West Provinces and Oudh and there are 41 District Boards While this privilege of electing members has been conferred upon all those 14 District Boards, they being grouped together in two groups and having the right to send one member from each group, only 10 out of the 103 Municipalities in the entire Provinces have been thought fit to be entrusted with this privilege Now, you will please consider that, in the first place, this system which requires representative delegates to be elected, not by the people directly but by their elected representatives is in itself a very objectionable system, we want the people thomselves to he allowed to elect, (Hear, hear) and we do not see my reason why they should not In Fugiand, when the organisation and the system of administration had not attained half that perfection, which I may say for administrative purposes, the administration has attained in India, they extended the franchise to people enjoying a certain property qualification, while persons enjoying in this country a certain income it may be a hundred rupces a mouth or two hundred rapses a month, are considered to be fit to be elected Manuapal Commissioners or members of the District Board If the Government do not see their way to conferring this privilege upon all the electors who elect members for the Unmerpality and District Boards, where on earth is the difficulty, where is the justification for not allowing those persons who are entitled by reason of their property qualification to sit as members of the District Boards and Municipalities to elect members for the Conneils directly? (Hear, I ear) However, if this is not done, Gentlemen, let at least the members composing the Municipalities and District Boards meet at one central place—the railway males the journey very every-and vote for the men directly (Cheers) What is at present required is that the various District Boards and Monicipalities hold meetings at their respective places and nominate one representative to vote at a central place. Out of a population of 40 millions, you find ten persons meeting together in the proxince to return two members to the Council What could be more unsatisfactory than that ' Gentlemen, I am very much afraid of the President's gong, and I do not wish to disober the authority of the chur, so I will not take up any more time. I will only say this that if the different administrators in this country really and honestly desire to give effect to the provisions of the Indian Conneils Act, as explained by the Secretary of State, and the Under Secretary of State, and by Mr. Gla Istone

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and Lord Salisbury, they should extend the franchise to all those persons who are entitled to sit as members of the Local and Monicipal Boards, or at least if they cannot venture on such a scheme as that so soon, let them coofer this power at least on all the members of the District and Local Boards, end, instead of having a distilled representation, let the neonle elect the members themselves Gentlemeo. I will not take up more of your time, but I hone that the Government may yet see the urgency and the necessity of this reform, and that it may grant it before long (Land Cheers)

BARRET JAIRES RAW ___

Baxshi Jasses Ram -Gentlemen, we meet at Madris again ufter seven years. It has been said that during this period the people of India have succeeded in securing the right of selection in the constitution of the Legislative Councils It is also maintained that the right of intercellation has been granted, end that the privilege of discussing the hudget has been Geotlemen, however valuable and covable these privileges may be we Panjabis have really shared in mone of them We have no Legislative Council, and we have no right of returning a representative to the Sopreme Legislative Council Gentlemen, I trust you will all agree with me in endorsing a vote of deep regret that during this period of seven years our Province has noticed what we may call a retrograde progress Gentlemen, at the time when we met last at Madras the proprietors in our villages did exercise certain rights which they do not exercise to day The villages in our province formed what we may describe as small republics, the villagers sprounted the village officers for themselves, and at the same time they used to decide ell questions in the internal administration of the village by themselves | The only concern they used to have was to pay the land revenues going to happen outside the boundaries of their village they did not care about. They did not care even for the bloody wars or political revolutions that used to take place. These small republics, as they have been described by each an eminent jurist as Sir Henry Maint, were not as to-day Before 1888 nobody could be appointed as village headman who had rendered himself obnoxions to the village community The village account int was appointed by the village headman or the village proprietors, and the village watchman was appointed by the village headman the Zemodar was a representative on behalf of the Government still the District officers were bound to consider the opinion of the village heidman Gentlemen, the year 1888 brought a very different epoch into our province All the nowers which the village preprietors used to exercise have been talen away, and at the present day all the village officers, whether they be the village accountant or the village watchman, are all appointed by the will of the District Officer (Slame) The opinion of the village proprietors is no more of concern, and any person may be forced on the village proprietors by the District Officer But this is not !!, Guitlemen The scheme regarding local self government was laid down by Sir Charles Attheson, and was also brought toto force by the same officer, but Sir Charles Aitcleson land to vacate office, and in his absence the scheme brought into force crased to have its real character, and now the District Officer is the sole proprietor of the District Boards as of the Municipalities So, Gaullemen, I submit it is retrograde propress which our Province has been making and I hope that you will ill express deep regret oo this subject (Hear, hear) Gentlemen, no reas in is knowe why the privileges that are exercised by the sister providers are not allowed to the Punjub What reason exists why the people of the N W Provinces should have a Legislitive Connell, while the people of the Punjib have not? Is it because the people of the Punjib shed their blood in 1850 against their own people, end secured the glory of the British Crown by fighting in the fields of Abyss on or other foreign countries? Or is it because for the present the fighting tribes are supplied to a great measure by the Punjab? Or is it because the frontier crists is some day to be decided by the people of the Punjab? Ge tlemen, with these remarks I second the resolution (Cheers)

ME W A CHAMBERS -Mr Chairman and Delegates, we in Bombay feel particularly aggreered open this motter of the Cooneils Act Wo were led to believe with the rest of the pople of India, in reading the discussions to the House of Commons, that the Act which Mr W. A. CHAMBERS.

was to be then prevented to the people of Indra, in answer to their neutation, was something worth having We have unfortunately discovered in Bombay that, in consequence of having at our head His Excellency Lord Harris, a man who belongs to a reactionary party. the boon is scarcely worth the receiving. Now, as has already been said by the gentlemin who moved this resolution, there have been eight seats given to the people of Bombay, but the great grievance we have, and here I speak as a Bombay man on hebalf of those people who are called Poons Brahmins, is that the Poons Brahmins have been absolutely forgotten, and left altogether in the cold (Shame) Lord Harris has discovered that the Poona Brahmins. in consequence of heing loft out of the scheme, are not in the best of tempers, he tells us when they complyin that they are a set of fellows who are absolutely without common sense (Shame) It is, as has already been said, "a shame", but unfortunately it is true Lord Harris has discovered that the Poona Brahmins, in consequence of the fact that they resent this stricture upon them, and are not willing to sit down under it, are men he cannot trust. Lord Harris may be, and possibly is, a very able cricketer (Laughter) Lord Harris may be very skilful in the cricket field, but as an English politician, and I think your President will bear me out, as a statesman Lord Harris's reputation in England is very small indeed (Hear, hear)

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MR W A

Thurs Day

our rights altogether by the Bombiy Government, and out of the privileges which were given to us by the House of Commons A gentleman on the Bombay Council asked some question about Exchange Commensation Exchange Commensation is a very delicate matter indeed the answer given to him was that it was out of order. (Laughter) that it could not be discussed, that it was an Imperial matter (Shame) What is the use of such an answer in such a matter . I think it is a shameful answer, indeed Another question was asked by some gentleman in reference to the land revenue in Bombay and increased assess ment, and he wished to discuss the matter on the budget motion | The member-a popularly elected representative-was ruled out of order (Shame) This is what is taking place in Bombay at the present moment, and Lord Harris wonders that the Deccan is in a state of revolt I say that if it is not in a state of revolt then the Deccan deserves the treatment it has received It does not deserve a representation by the popular party I read the debates in the House of Commons on this matter, and am certain that the House of Commons meant you well in it I am certain that the meaning of that Act was that, so far as practicable. representative institutions should be given to you I believe other Governments have acted fairly, that is moderately fairly In Bombay unfortunately we are men who think we have a very great grievance. We come to you here as citizens of other parts of India, to lay these grievances before you, and to ask your opinion, and if your opinion coincides with ours (Yes. Yes) that Bombay has not been fairly treated, it is your duty-nay it is your privilege-to support us by passing this resolution with acclamation (Loud Cheers)

MR BHAGISATHA PRASAD amport us by passing this resolution with the properties of the passing the properties of the properties of the passing the first park we repeat what we have done so often, that a Legislative Council should be, without any further loss of time, created for the Punjah I am one of those who hold that no reform is of any use unless we find in it harmonism development of the whole Such being the case I have great pleasure in supporting this part of the resolution, and I assuro my Punjah friends that the people of the Central Provinces would heartify congratulate them, the moment they know that the request has been granted (Cheere)

In the second part we complain that the rules now in force under the Indian Councils Act of 1892 are materially defective, and pray that His Excellency the Viceroy in Council will be so pleased as to have fresh rules framed in a liberal spirit with a view to a better working of the Act, and suited to the conditions and requirements of each Province In this respect the Central Provinces have, Gentlemen, grievances of a grever nature than any other province I believe, has and this you will presently see Our Government often accuses us of being merely theoretical people, and of never submitting any practical scheme This accusation cannot, however, be brought against the Central Provinces people in this instance at least, as they formulated a scheme and submitted it for the favourable consideration of the Government the Government did not, however, condescend to vouch afe us any reply And what did it do? It created four electoral Colleges one for each division Were the people to return members to these ? No nothing of the sort Municipal Committee and District Councils elected mem bers for these Did all the Unmerpal hodies and District Councils do so ? (A voice, Yes) No Gentlemen, nothing of the sort You are greatly mistaken Only six Municipalities out of some 56 got this right. Is it not now clear that by leaving out some 50 Unincipalities a large num ber of well qualified and intelligent citizens was left out (Voices, Yes Yes and cries of Shame) Let us, however, proceed still further The members returned by these constituted themselves as stated above into four electoral colleges one for each division. Each Commissioner is required to send in the name of the only gentleman who should happen to get the highest number of votes-not by hallot-in the electoral colege for the division of the Commissioner, and the Chief Commissioner will know officially nothing whatsoever regarding any other candidates According to this system, a gentleman who really gets the highest number of votes in the whole of the province may be altogether left int I shall illustrate this by taking a bypo

thetical case. Let us suppose each of these electional colleges country of 11 confidence, and that a candidate get- five votes in each of them and hance 20 in the whole, but his name is not climally before the Chief Commissioner, as his defeat meacher the colleges prevents the Commisconers sending up hi name. Then of the names before the Government, a contleman. getting only six votes and that only in one division and in no other, is selected. In now, Gentlemen, this latter gentleman the real representative or the former's (Touces, Former). But how can the former be secured, he name being rot at all officially before the Government " Is not now this a prievance , lover, Ye., Ye.) But let me go still ferther on. The rules do not make it obligatory upon the Government to make a selection from out of the candidates returned by the college. the Government may reject all there and may recommend one from catride. Such a power, I behere, other Governments have not get, they simply confirm the elections. Is not, Gentlemen, the election in the Central Provinces a greater faire than in any other province. It is not due so much to the rules as to the hills given by Sir A P VacDonnell and the Hon'ble Mr J Weedharn, that we got the Hon'ble Mr G M Chituary, as our representative, and for the Lelp the whole of the Central Provinces has been laid under deep obligation by these two truly liberal officers. (Cheera) Now. Gentlemen, when it is clear that the Government may reject the candidates returned by the electoral colleges, is the gentleman appointed to repre ent us, the Central Provinces people, a representative of the people or of the Government, (leaves Government). Truly so And 1, not this awkward Will be not, under ordinary commitmees, take only such steps in the Conneil as may not displete the Government. To do otherwise requires a really strong back bone. Is not, Gentlemen our grievance of a graver nature than that many other Province? (Voice It is, It is) Thank you Gentlemen, it is for the se reasons that I commend the whole proposition for your favourable con ideration, and hope that the Government will soon see its way to grant the whole of our priver, and thus give ns. in the words of Mr Glad tone, a really hving repri entation (Lond Cheer)

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Mu I na teatha Pagad Third Day
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ME KALIPEA

BANNA ACHARTA

MR PETER PAUL PILLAI not do the same thing in the case of our representative in the Council. This "Residential clause," Gentlemen, is a great evil and should no longer remain in force. Although in our subsequent election we had the good fortune to find an educated young nobleman willing to state the responsible duties of a Conneillor on his shoulders yet I am afraid, we may some times be put to difficulty get bold of a really fit and able man. His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of our Province peakings anticipated the difficulty and meant to give a liberal forcement to the clause but in our case the Indian Government willed otherwise. So I ask you, Gentlemen to pray His Excellency the Viceroy in Conneil to cancel this rule altrosther and allow us the free discretion of choosing our own min. (Hear, hear)

Mr. Peter Paul Pillai -Mr. Ghairman and Brother Delegates von have heard the grievance of the North West Provinces and of the Bombay Presidency, but the Madrasis have reason to envy our friends in the two Provinces in one particular point . that is to sav. with regard to the landholders of the North West Provinces, they have the privilege of send ing two elected members, and in the Bombay Presidency also they have some privilege, but in the Madras Presidency we are not given the privilege of an elective seat for the landholders. In this respect we are in a much worse position than before the Act of 1892. Formerly the landowner was one member out of eleven now he is one out of twenty one, and so the nosition is worse Moreover, we find that out of the cleven seats for non officials five are assigned to local Boards and Municipalities and two seats are allowed one for the University. and one for the Chamber of Commerce while four seats are not assigned to any constituency at all, so we have one great grievance in this respect. We have been representing our grievance first to the Local Government and then to the Supremo Government but we lave had no satisfactory reply to our prayer The first reply was that it was not in the power of the Local Government to grant our request, while the Supreme Government replied that it was in the power of the Local Government We had to go to the Secretary of State for India complaining against this A nominated member is useless, and even worso than useless as he has not the power of making independent criticism on the Government in regard to a Bill brought before the Council affecting the interests of the landowning community We have a very strong instance in point. The same member that is nominated by Government it elected by the landowners, would be a valuable and even minded representative of the Instead of being so we find that he is the supporter of the Government measures at the sacrifice of his own interests and those of his brethren Thus we hring before the Congress this matter hoping that measures will be adopted to rectify the grievances complained of The worst difficulty that will befall the landholding community as a conse quence of the measure now passed will be the confication of property The landowners form the most influential community in the Presidency and have landed interests in more than 80 per cent of the country but we find that they are not only very madequately represented but are not represented at all With these remarks I support the resolution (Hear hear)

THE PRESIDENT -Is Mr Ku and kar leve (Voice* No No) The Resolution was put to the vote and carried

RAI BARADER P ANAMA CHARM —I have to make certain announcements under the orders of the President The Subjects Committee will meet in quarter of an hour The President asks me to announce that the Congress meets at 11 a clock to increw

RAI BAHADUR P ANANDA CHARLU

THE PRESIDENT

The Persident —There is a most important notice that I regret to be the mouth piece of announcing to the Congress, a piece of news sadder than almost any that we could have received. It is the death of the Maharayah of Mysore. The newspaper vates I his High ness the Micharayah of Mysore dued this moraning at 7 o clock of Diphtheri. His remains will be cremated at Benarcs. Flat renders it impossible for u to make any announcements regarding on ertainments.

FOURTH DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

Saturday, the 29th December, 1894

The Congress assembled at 11 o clock

raised

THE PRESIDENT -Friends and Fellow Delegates, you all feel the heavy cloud, you all feel the dark cloud, nuder which we meet to day The bright sunshine and the blue sky outside ill accord with the feelings of oppression and saddless that dwell in all our hearts There is no occasion that I should mention the reason We all know we have all felt, since list night when we head the terrible news of the death of the Maharajah of Mysore, that this Congress could not end in the joyful manner in which it had commenced. There is no need that I should say anything regarding the character of the services the patriotism. and the life of the decea ed Malarajah That, of conrec will be properly spoken to upon other occasions by men who have known him all their lives, and who are fully aware of his services to his country and to his race. It just remains for me to move the following Resolution which of course, will be receive the von standing and which will be passed by you with rused arms in silence -

That this Congress wishes to express its respectful condolence and scrapsify with the Royal Family of Mysore in their recent sad and sudden bereavement end at the same time to testify to its deep sense of the loss which has been sustained in the death of the Maharajah of Mysore not only by the State over which he ruled with such wisdom ability and beneficence but also by all the Indian peoples, to whom his constitutional reign was at once a vindication of their political capacity an example for their active emulation and an earnest of their future political liberties

The Resolution was carried in deep silence, the audience standing with right arms

The President -Now it is my duty to announce that in consequence of this bereava ment and out of respect to the memory of the Maharajah, the entertainment to the Delegatas has been abandoned I have to announce to the Delegates that the entertainment to be given by Mr Krishaadass to-moriow evening has also been abandoned, and might I express my personal desire that for the rest of the time I shall be here we may have no music or demon stration of any kind. The eleventh Resolution will be moved by the Hon Mr Sitaivad of Bombay

THE HON ME C H CHALVAD -Mr President and Gentlemen the Resolution that I have the honour to lay before you runs thus -

(a) That in the opinion of this Congress the time has now arrived when the system of tital ly Jury may be safely extended in cases triable by Sessions Courts to many parts of the country where it is not at present in f rce

- (b) That in the opinior of this Congress the innovation made in 1872 in the system of trial by Jury depriving the verdicts of Juries of all finality has proved injurious to the country and that the powers then for the first time vested in Sessions Judges and High Courts of setting aside verdicts of acquittal should be at once withdrawn
- (c) That in the opinion of this Congress it is extremely desirable that the power at present vested in Government to appeal against acquittals be taken away

You will see, Gentlemen that part (a) of the resolution asks that the system of trial by jury may be extended to those parts of the country where it is at present not in force At the Congress Session of 1892 held at Allahabad, when we entered our most empl atic protest against

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Resolution X Vote of Sym pathy with the Royal Family of

Mysore ___

THE PRESIDENT

Resolution XI Trial by Jury

> Hoy C H SITUYAR

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Resolutio XI
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How C II
SITALVAD

that most arbitrary and reactionary measure of Sir Charles i Blot, known as the "Jnry Notincation," this matter was so fully discussed that I think it is now idle for me to trouble you
igain with the facts and figures that were placed before you on that occasion. Suffice it to say
that the agitation that followed that Notification, and the Report of the Commission that was
impointed by Government to consider that matter, fully established, once for all, that the
system of trial by jury, methad of being a failure, as was sought to be made out by the officials,
was a complete success, while some of the members of the Commission recommended its further
extension. Gentlem is, if trial by jury is a necessity in England, I maintain that it is a greater
necessity in India where the majority of the Jadges, unacquainted with the manners and
customs of the people, are not in a proper position, as a jury selected by the people themselves
would be, to deal with questions of fact. (Cheere) That being so, Gentlemen, I do not think any
further argument is required to induce you to press again your prayer for the further extension
of the nire wastern to other parts of the counity.

Paragraph (b) asks that finality he given to the verdicts of juries As the law stands at present, Gentlemen, after the jury has delivered its verdict, if the Judge does not agree with the he has power to make a reference to the High Court who can dispose of the case in such manner as they may deem proper You will agree with me. Gentlemen, that this proceeding is, on the face of it, very anomalous Junes are constituted judges of facts, and it is certainly anomalous that where five gentlemen admittedly better qualified than the judge himself, better qualified because of their intinuito knowledge of the customs and manners of the meanle, to deal with questions of fact, that where these five gentlemen are agreed upon a particular view of a case, the Judge should still have the power of over riding their decision and reference the case to the lugher authorities Gentlemen, I can conceive of no greater condemnation of the present system than the fact that the various High Courts, notably that of Bombay, have practically refused to give full effect to this provision of the law. They have laid down from time to time that, although according to the strict letter of the law the whole case is opened nu by a reference, they will not disturb the verdict of the jury simply because they think it wrong, but will only interfere when the conclusion mrived at on the record is so patently and manifestly perverse that no reasonable man could arrive at it And, Gentlemen, one of the reasons that induced the High Court to lay down these rulings is pregnant with great wisdom and foresight, and it is this, If you once disturb the finality of the verdicts of juries you will he taking away the sense of responsibility of jurymen You will agree with me that it is desirable that there should be some errors committed by juries rather than that anything should be done to take away from them their sense of responsibility (Cheers)

The last paragraph of the Resolution for which I, in the Subjects Jommittee. was mainly responsible, ileals with the power vested in local tovernments to moreal against acquittals Gentlemen, comprehensive as I think a great indus provisions of the present Cruminal Proredure 1 ode art, I cannot concure anything more illiberal in spirit and more mischievous, then the provisions on uppeals in acquittals. Consider for a moment, Gentlemen, the wide powers vested in Government Under this provision of the law, Government have the power of appealing against any order of acquittal, appellate and original, and the Limitation Act allows them the long period of six months within which they can do it Contrast this with the privilege accorded to an accused appealin against conviction ff an accused is sent to juil for a period of one month or is sentenced to a fine of Rs 50, or is committed to the bessions, he has no power to appeal, while in the cise of anomary trials he has no power of appeal at nil I ven in eases where he has the power to upperl, he must exercise that power within all days, in the case of convictions by Magistrates. and within 60 days, in the case of convictions by Sessions Courts. Thus Gentlemen, while an accused person-I ought to say a native accused person because the Criminal Procedure Code most shamelessly rightes the fundamental principles of law, that the law is no respecter of persons, and exempts Furopean British sal jects from these Rules (Sname)-must appeal within 30 or 60 days, as the case may be, when he is contenced to undergo rigorous imprison ment for 3 months, or must make up his mind to sit still and bear it, your august Government with all their resources at their back have the proud privilege of banging the sword of Damock's over the head of acquitted persons for 6 months (Shame) Then, Gentlemen, we have to consider the actual way in which this provision is worded. Generally, when an acquittal is recorded in it Sessions Court, it may be even with the concurrence of a jury, it is orilinarily the District Magnetrate, who is often a jumor Collector, who sits in judgment on that order of accountful. and thus deals with it. If he thinks the Sessions Judge is wrong he moves Government to appeal, and Government, on the recommendation of the District Magistrate, sanctions the appeal. It is a fact well known Gentlemen, that when these appeals against acquittal come before the High Court, a large majority of them are certainly fraitless, but that only shows the wisdom of the High Court in acquitting, not that of the Government in preferring the appeals (Hear, hear) True, Gentlemen, that a large majority of the appeals are fruitless, but what of the trouble, expense, and mental anxiety to which the poor accused is put of (Henr. hear) Then, again, I think, Gentlemen, that this power is very dangerous when left in the hands of the Local Governments, and I would illustrate this to you by recent ovents in my own Presidency After the unhappy disturbances between Hindus and Mahomedans in Poons, a few months back, thirteen innocent people were hauled up by order of the Government before the Sessions Judge and after an elaborate trul, the costs of which exceeded Rs 10,000, the Sessions Judge, agreeing with the jury that all the Police evidence was hopelessly periured and unreliable, acquitted the accused Gentlemen, it is most confidently said in my part of that Presidency that Government seriously contemplate appealing against the acquittal (Shaire) Knowing the facts, I cannot conceive how any reasonable human being can think of appealing against that acquitts! Gentlemen, bearing in mind as I do the unimpeachable character that the present ruler of the Presidency has established for want of tact, for want of states manship, and for illiberal principles, I shall not be surprised if it turns out to be true, (Shame) and if it torns out to be true, then the thirteen poor people who have been falsely accused. who baye spent Rs 10,000, who have been put to such mental anxiety for three or four months, and who have been unnecessarily mearcerated for a period of two months, will near have the anxiety and trouble put upon them of appearing before the High Court and defending themselves once more Gentlemen, I think I have sufficiently shown you that this nower is a very dangerous one t be kept to the hands of the Government, and that it should be With these words I will commend the Resolution for your accept speedily done away with ance (Loud Cheers)

Mr & A DISHUEI -- Mr President, Brother Delegates, and Gentlemen, I am from the Central Provinces the non regulated provinces, the provinces having no Legislative Conneil, the provinces having a Chartered High Coart, the provinces having an jury system So you see, Gentlemen we want many thing- But be not afraid, please, we do not want them all at once and at one and the same time. Our Indian people are well known to the caybacd world for their | thence Among other things that we want is the jury system ! do not wish to deal with the matters that have already been so ably and so exhaustively treated by my learned and emment friend, simply because I cannot express them in better words I cannot however, Gentlemen, induce myself to be centent without saying a very few words regarding un own provinces The jury system is not extended to our provinces We have not tasted the sweets of the jury system. Our humble prayer is for the extension of the pury system trentlemen believe me, we Central Provinces persons, we people coming from the Central Provinces are not Khonds, are not Santals are not men who have no touch of the present civilization. We are educated men, we are indeed hably obliged to the English Government for the clear education and enlightenment we have received. It has opened a new era in the history of the Central Provinces. During the last twenty years Paglish education has made very rapid progress, the existence of three Colleges in the

Resolution XI
Trial by Jury

HON C H

Mr k N De viei

Fourth Day Resolution XI Trial by Jury MLEN

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Central Provinces, the enterprising spirit shown he the educated men and trading classes in starting cotton factories, fully bear testimony to what I say hefore this responsible and august assembly here It may appear. Gentlemen, surprising to you, nevertheless it is a fact, and an admitted fact, as disclosed his the Report of the Education Commission. that even namery culucation in the Central Provinces has been far in advance of what it has been in other provinces Regarding the spread of higher education both the Ad ministration and Educational Reports speak for themselves. The scheme of Local Self Government which has made the Government of I ord Ripon so very nopular, so very dear to the Indian people, has proved a complete success in our provinces (Hear, hear) The interest the people take in the public affine of the Central Provinces is evident from the fact that the Municipal Committees and the District Councils elect their own Chairmen And whom do they elect. Gentlemen ' Not official men but non official members for that body Gentle men, all these facts will show clearly that we are fit for the boon of the jury system, they will convince you. Gentlemen here that we have got sufficient material in our provinces from which runes can be selected Gentlemen, if the natives of the Central Provinces are actually found, after serious trial and cufficiently long experience, to be fit to hold independent charge of the District-in plan words to be in the post of Deputy Commissioners -if they are thought and wisely thought, to be competent to hold a cest on the Supreme Legislative Council of Calcutta then. Gentlemen, is it not absured, is it not unsound, is it not impolitic, to say that we are not jet fit to enjoy the jury system ? (Cheers)

Gentlemen I protest, and protest very strongly, with the greatest possible emphasis and force that nudonitedly the time has come when the jury system should be extended to the Central Provinces We do not want anything which is new to us, we do not want anything which is an innovation to us, but we want a thing which was the right and privilege of our forefathers, we want a thing which was entoyed by our worthy forefathers, and enjoyed without any disturbance, without any inter ference And what was that? It was the jury system, but fortunately or unfortunately it had a very different name, a name known to all of you here, and that was the "Panchayet" system (Hear, hear) We ask for it, Gentlemen, with great courage and with great boldness, which certainly we should never have had courage or holdness to do under any other Government either native or foreign, because we know, and know full well, that we ars living under the heneficent rule of Her Gracions Majesty, that we have got the most gracious, the most noble, the most worthy Charter, the solemn Proclamation of Her Majesty, that we are supported, and indeed very staunchly and very sincerely, by the British Com mattee, and not only by that Committee, but by almost all members of Parliament, and not only that, Gentlemen, but hy all noble munded and liberal hearted gentlemen at home, (Cheers) whose motive in life Gentlemen, is "Righteousness exalteth a nation," whose aim and object in life, Gentlemen is to uphold the strong, and help the weak in the righteons cause With these few remarks, and not to trouble the learned President, and not to take up your valuable time, I conclude, and have great pleasure in seconding the Resolution which has been so ably put forward by my learned friend (Gleers THE PRESENTET -I am going to take a somewhat unusual course, which I do not

THE PERSIDENT.

Resolution XII Separation of Judicial and Fxe entive Functions

ANANDA CHARLU

intend to adopt again | There are a couple of very important speakers who have to be heard on this Resolution but who have not yet arrived So I shall take the liberty of going on with Resolution XII and then coming back to Re olution XI Resolution XII will be proposed by Rai Bahadur P Ananda Charlu of Madras RAI BAHADUR P ANANDA CHARLY -Mr President and Brother Delegates, the

proposition I have to place before you runs as follows —

That this Congress laving till now vainly appealed for many successive years to the Government of Indra and also to the Secretary of State to remove one of the gravest defects in RAI BAHADUR P.

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Resolution XII
Separation of
Judicial and Exe
cutive Functions

MR K SRINIVASA Row.

Mr. K. Srinivasa Row -Brither Delegates, the mover of this proposition has set an example of hrevity, and I would follow him. hut it seems to me that, strongly worded as the proposition is, the Government is still not convinced of the necessity for the separation of the executive and indictal functions While we are saying year after year, that the separation of executive and indicial functions is necessary. Government turns a deaf ear to our cries, and we cannot go on year after year asking for the same thing when Government seems to have faith in combination I will give you one example in which the combination of the executive and indicial functions has been a fullule. In the Bellare district, (my own district) a confidential circular was eent round by the District Magistrate to the effect that the Magistrales who hear and decide cases should remember that they are responsible for the detection and suppression of crime. They were told that the duty which we thought was entirely the duty of the Police was to be undertaken by them Now what follows from this. Gentlemen? It follows that the District Magistrate thinks not as we are thinking, that the separation of executive and judicial functions is necessary in the interests of justice, but that combination is necessary for the detection and suppression of crime What is the effect of the orcular, Geutlemen? It is this The Magistrates are asked to support and assist the Pohoe And I will tell you why this was done Government round that when the last Administration Report was published the number of convictions was not quite as large as they desired and our Editors-whom we have either to thank or ourse, I do not know which-sat upon the Administration Report and said that poor convictions showed poor detection Government therefore wanted to show to the Editors a larger number of convictions, as being synonymous with greater efficiency in Criminal Administration Accordingly this Circular was issued which means in effect that the District Magistrate should ask his subordinates to make friends with the Police, and that if fault is found with the Police, they should excuse them (Shame, Shame) That is what it has come to really We are advocating year after year the separation of executive and judicial functions, but the Government does not seem to have faith in separation. It wants to show a cleaner Administration Report Now, a question was put in the Legislative Council asking why this confidential circular was issued, and the answer was given by the Honoiable Mr Bliss, who gives answers to these questions in the Council in the shape of riddles and conundrums And what did he say? He took shelter, not under any principle of law or under any Act or any Section of the Procedure Code (which now rules and which is a Code of every day reference in (ourt), but he went to an Act called the Police Act of 1869, and referred to the preamole of that Act, and said that the preamble of the Police Act justified the issue of the circular The preamble east that Magistrates are responsible and must be helped by the Police in the detection and suppression of crime Nothing more, Gentlemen That preamble says nothing more than this, it refers to the Police as being subordinate to the Magistrates in the detection and suppression of crime It does not say that the Magistrates should assist the police in the detection of crime Now, I will tell you that in my own district the state of things has come to be this I have heard from experienced men that twenty years ago our Magistrates were much more independent of the Police than they are now of the Station House officers They are hourd to work well with the Police, because they are very often under the influence of the Police Superintendent, the promotion of the Magistrates her entirely in the hands of the District Magistrate, who is also an executive officer and the Collector of the District, who issues confidential circulars and demi officials, who asks that people may be committed and asks practically that people may be convicted because he wants them to be convicted (Shame) That is really the state of things, Gentlemen Now unless the Magistrates are iemoved from this executive influence, we cannot hope to better the state of things Unless and until we remove these drawbacks from the Suhordinate Magistrates, and have it laid down that District Magistrates must not be Collectors, or that they ought not to he District Vagistrates and Collectors together, we cannot better matters (Cheers)

ME V S SAHASPARUDHI -Mr President, Brother Delegates and Gentlemen, I am called upon to support this proposition which has been ably put by Rai Bahadur P Ananda Charlu Well, you know, Gentlemen, this is a proposition the principle of which has already been accepted by the anthorities and, as is set forth in the proposition, has been accepted as it were by Lord Kimherley and Lord Cross You know, Gentlemen, the plea put forward is that there is want of funds But, Gentlemen, you know the adage that "where there is a will there is a way," and if this maxim is borne in mind, and if the anthorities take that view and if they really and honestly attempt to find money for it we are sure they will be able to find it. They have been able to find money for Exchange Compensation, and yet they say they have no money to carry out this essential reform of the sepera tion of executive and indicial functions This separation which is asked for by all people has not been granted to us I hey say there is a want of monoy, but that plea cannot avail them We have men in the position of Messrs R C Dutt, M M Ghose and Pherozeshah Mehta, who have already put forward schemes which ought to commend themselves to Government and which will shew them that the cost will not be extra to a large amount. and even if it involves a cost of extra amount, I am sure the Government of India could find out means to lave this essential reform established and carried out. I come from the Satara District, and I will give you one illustration where the combination of executive and judicial functions vested in one officer resulted in failure of justice. I refer to the well known 'War case" against thirteen gentlemen in that District, which was really a police case. That case was tried by a Magistrate who is in executive charge of that Talnka I say there was a failure of justice in it Near the Magistrate's camp there was the camp of the Police Superintendent, and the latter used to come and sit occasionally in Court while the Police witnesses were heing examined (Shame) Thus, Gentlemen, if there had been an inde pendent authority not connected with the executive functions, the result would certainly have been that those thirteen innocent persons would never have been incarcerated and would never have suffered the agomes and miseries which they were put to, since they were sent from Wai to Satara, and the magistrate having given an inappealable sen tence all attempts to get them free were of no effect. This was on account of the combination of the functions in the same executive officer If this Magistrate had had nothing to do with executive functions certainly these men would never have been incarcerated, and if we find failure of justice in such cases it is necessary that Government should take in hand this reform and have a complete separation of executive and indicial functions. Then only shall we have those essential reforms for which for many years we have been crying out. I hope, Gentlemen, you will join with me in asking that this Resolution he passed with acclamation (Oheers)

ME MOHIN MOHIN CHARRATERI —This resulation embodies a very simple demand on the part of the people of India. It wants a mixed commission to be appointed for framing the rules and for framing a scheme for this separation of excentive and judicial functions which are now bound up in one and the same person, and as such, I say it is a very moderate demand. The desirability of this separation has already been considered not only in this country but also in England, and two ex Secretaires of State for India have expressed their opinion that this separation should be carried out (Hear, I-ar) But what their lord ships say is tantamount simply to this. 'We know that this reform is needed for your country, but the difficulty is that we have no funds in band, and therefore, notwithstanding that this scheme is necessary for the welfare of England and India still, not having sufficient funds in our hands, we cannot carry out this scheme at present.' We think the plea on the part of the Government is—I will not say unjust, but an unrightness one. In an know, Gentlemen, that crores of Rupees have been spent on what is called the scientific frontier. In the face of all this squandering of public money I do not know how it can be write.

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Resolution XII
Separation of
Judicial and Exe
entive Functions

Mr V S SAHASRA-

ME MOHINI MOHAY CHARRA VARTI

Fourth Day Resolution XII

Ser aration of Judicial and bige cutive Functions

Mr Moure MONAN CHARRA VARTI

there are not sufficient fonds in their hands. Well. Gentlemen I say that this plea on the part of the Government is quite might, for what justification have the Government to turn insolvent at the moment when a much needed reform is to be carried out. That insolvency, if any, is entirely due to their squandering projective in other directions which are not at all necessary, is due to then indulging in laxury at the cost of our poor mather land. Well. Gentlemen, this being the state of things you can take this matter into consideration Schemes have been procountled from time to time of which mention has been made in this resolution, as for instance the scheme by my countrymen. Mr R C Dutt, Mr Ghose and that well-known critizen of Bombay Mr Mehta. All these schemes say that these reforms can be carried out by Government with the least possible cost to the State. Even if the matter is costly, and if the Government is not in a position to find funds for carrying it out. an attempt should be made in order to meet this desire on one part for reforming this particular state of things which casts a slur as it were on the civilised. Government, under whose surveillance we live (Hear, hear)

Gentlemen I do not quote to you other examples of the oppression wrought by the system which is at present in vogue, because instances are rife on all hands, and everyone of you I think is acquainted with one or two The thing is this, there is no question that the present system is calculated to do mischief. But there is one necessary preliminary for carrying out this reform, and that necessity is to collect instances in which the present state of things is calculated to work muschief Well, so far as the collection of statistics is concerned. I should say that the work is already over What is now wanting, is the mangaration of the reform. and for the purpose of the manguration, our demand is very moderate—the appointment of a commission to enquire into the possibility of introducing this reform with the least possible cost to the State, because the Government say they have no funds, and because it is absolutely necessary for the good of the country With these remarks Gentlemen I would commend this resolution to your acceptance (Cheers)

The Resolution was then put to the vote and carried

THE PRESIDENT -We now go back to resolution Al I now call upon Mr Mozumdar. of Faridpar, to support that resolution

Resolution XI Trial by Jury

Mr. Annica C. MOZUMBAR

Me Aneica C Mozendar -Sir, the almost proverbial immobility of It disn reform is probably nowhere so conspicuous as in the slow and imperceptible development of the avstem of trul by Jury Here it seems to have moved in cycles even larger than those of the great orb which is the centre of the mighty planetary system under which we live Decades passed away after the British conquest before the system of trial by may was properly secured to Her Majesty's Indian salkets hing within the Presidency towns It then took three decades more to reach a few favoured spots in the regions of the Western and the Eastern Glats and the Assam Valleys, and then another cycle of full thirty years rolled away before seven districts in the Gargetic Provinces came to receive its blessings There it has ever since stood as if forsilized beyond all po sibility of further growth But now that the country has completed another revolution of thirty years more, has not the usual period of probation passed and the time fully arrived for doling out another measure of this reform to the suffering millions of this vast empire? If the privilege is still to be withheld Anglo Indian bureaucrics must be false to its own estal lished tradition (Cheers)

Gentlemen, you may remember, that in 1867 Sir Cecil Beadon, as Lacutenant Governor of Bengal, was for extending the system to other districts of the Lower Provinces, and you must be aware how a chorus of opposition from the district officers thwarted his noble purpose Again, in 1884 the Government of Lord Ripon launched the question, and again the tide of opposition flowed from the lower depths of the service, and the question was thrown back. It 18 a strange arrangement, peculiar to Anglo-Indian administration that no reform can be effected without the consent and concurrence of those whose colliding interest it always is to

oppose such improvements. Gentlemen, it is the Services, and not the Government, that have throughout mainly blocked our way (Cheers) And what, after all, is the justification for this stolid immobility of the Government? The plea of impreniosity does not arise here, as it does in the case of the separation of judicial from executive functions, nor is there here the shadow of any political bugbear such as is said to brant the question of Simultaneous Examinations This is not one of those problems upon which India can be either lost or rumed This is a question of pure administrative justice between India and Indians Justice in this country is sold and not idministered, and should not the purchaser, even when he pays a fancy price for it, have some choice in the selection of his article of purchase " (Cheers) Then where is the difficulty? It is generally urged that the difficulty has in the ingrained perversity of Indian purces in returning wrong verdicts, or, in other words, verdicts which fail to commend themselves to the infillable of mions of English Judges Tustend of indulging in dogination let us trend upon solid ground of facts and figures. Thanks to Sir Clarles Elliot and his hobby, the Jury Notification has opened men's eves to the insecurity in which they live, and has also uncarthed a mass of valuable information which reveals the true state of things (Cheers)

Resolution XI
Trial by Jury

MR AMBICA C MOZUMPAN Fourth Day
Resolution XI
Trial by Jury

MR AMBICA C MOZUMDAR From these it would uppear that while the Magistrates were found wrong in 30 per cent of cases in which there was in appeal from their decisions, Sessions Judges sitting with assessors were found wrong in about 23 per cent, while junes were found wrong only in 41 per cent with the barest possibility of 11 per cent (Cheers). It follows, therefore, that as regards perversity of judgment, Judges left to themselves are at least 21 times as perverse as Judges kept strught by juriors, while the Magistrati's perversity is 2 degrees in excess of that of the Sessions Judges. (Joint Cheers)

The other objection specially urged against the proposed extension is the alleged incompetency of the present non inry districts to meet the requirements of the privilege Gentlemen, I should have attached some importance to the converse proposition that there are not many competent and truned Judges in the service fit to deal with parors in this country (Laughter) To begin with, I should like to know if all the shires and counties in England an l Scotland were equally advanced at any time, and if the difference in their qualifications was over made the ground for a difference of administrative rights and privileges among them? Then, are we to understand that ever since 1861 the people have made no progress in edn ' cation, in independence of redgment and decision of ther icter? And will any one affirm that there are not now some at least among the non nary districts whose position at the present day might compare favourably with those of the few favoured districts thirty to sixty years hack? It cannot be . it is impossible (Hear, hear) To assert the contrary would be a gross libel on British rule in India There have sprung up in most of these districts Colleges and High Schools, self governing Municipal and Local Boards, which the people are managing with com mendable success | There are independent Benches of Honorary Magnitrates in almost every thannah and, above all, there is established in all these places a strong public opinion the force of which is not infrequently felt even by Government And if further ovidence is needed I would refer to the admissions of the opposite side (Hear, hear)

In the abortive discossion of 1884 to which I have already referred, we find that the unluassed opinion of no less than seven of the veteran officers of Government who were consulted on the subject, namely, Mr Campbell of Rajshahye, Judgo Worgan of Cuttack. Mr Cornish of Midnapore Mr Bignold of Chittagong Commissioners Wilson of Burdwan and Lowis of Chittagong were all in favour of the proposed extinsion. Mr. Campbell remark od-" The hmited experience which I have had of the jury system in the 21 Pergunnahs and "Nubleah has strongly impressed me in favour of its extension throughout the Regulation "Districts I cannot say that I attach much unportance to the argument from presidence and "class feeling in exceptional cases" Judge Worgan scul- If men can be found to this commer (1 e, 220) of the same amount of fitness that is possessed by the present assessors I think that satisfactory juries could always be formed. I have found the assessors as a rule take an intilligent interest in the proceedings, on which I have always endeavoured to "make them feel that they occupy an important and practical position, and though I think "them in some cases prone to acquat, I have frequently found where I have over ruled that "their doul to were emborsed by the High Court on Appeal ' Gentlemen, the Census Report for llengal in 1891 shows there is hardly a district in B ngal where two to three thousand educated man could not be found to form a jury list (Hear, hear) Then Mr Cornish of Milimpore frankly of erved-"I am quite convinced that the abelst may four criminal Courts will never communit the confidence of the people till some system of trial by jury is estab-As a Magistrate, either trying a case, or committing it for trial, I have often felt "that no judgment that I could give would satisfy my elf. How then could I expect it to " satisfy others "" (Hear, hear)

Commission of Larimone, though of posing the introduction on principle, yet candidly observed.—"As for as my experimence goes—and I have had no good many opportunities of a judging of the character of the men who would probably have to serve on a jury—it would be

"nearly as easy to obtain an intelligent jury here (i.e., the backward district of Crittack) as in
"Burdwan, and I am not at all sare that the Cuttack verdict would not generally be a more
"honest one" If, as was actually contended by Commissioner Larmine, "the existence of the
"institution is due more to political revisions than to its intrinsic merits from a judicial point
"of view," and if its object be "to secure the liberty of the subject from the risk of being
"mustly inversions with by Judices, who are removable at the leasure of the narrogants."

power," Gentlemen all I can say is, that, having regard to foreign domination, to diversities of race, and to the diversities of customs, manners, and feelings, under which the people live and die, and, above all, to the difficulties that exit in estimating Indian evidence, the universal adoption of trial by part is nowhere so urgently needed as in India (Loud Observ)

Resolution XI
Trial by Jury

Mr. Ambica C. Mozumpar.

Gentlemen, if I should ever be asked to point out the chief defect of British role in India I would thruce repeat—it is its administrative anomalies and then unbestatingly add that of all such anomalies there are none so anomalous as the anomalies of its administration of criminal matice. Apart from the arrational maior of the indical and the executive functions, it has to be observed that though all the people are living in the same country and under the same sovereign and are apparently protected by the same punitive laws, the criminal procedure of the country is one huge, cumbrons and complex machine comprising about half a dozen different modes of trial, varying from the most primitive to the most highly civilized method of administration. By a strange fatality it has broken up the entire normation into divisions of political castes at the head of which the European Brahmins have one hand of crim pal Shastras while the Indian Sudras have quite another (Hear, hear) Then among these latter there are, like oases in a de ert, a patch here and a patch there where the people enjoy greater security of life, liberty, and property than the unlitted mans population who unhabit the vast and express all round Gentlemen, a marder is a marder. with the callows for its destined goal, whether it is committed in Dicca or in Faridonr. and yet the merest accident of its being committed on this or that side of an almost imaginary line, sometimes drawn through restless waters may determine whether the same man shall be dealt with as a true critizen or as a bondsman Sir, where is the clause in the great testament of the Queen Mother that, while imposing upon my head the habilities of her Covernment denrives me of an equal share in the privileges of her rule? (Cheers) Why should I day by day and year after year, standing on one bank of a river, gaze mourafully on the other bank, and have to say to myself that it is over there that the shackles fall off and true citizenship begins ? (Loud Cheers)

Fourth Day. Resolution XIII The Pound Liber Court. Laxan Jaser

H.w

with the welfare of the people. Another ground for the establishment of a High Court is that there is an anomaly in reference to Appeal cases in our Province There is no right of Appeal in the case of suits the value of which is within Rs 1,000, when the judgment of the Appellate Court agrees with the indement of the Original Court The establishment of a High Court will result in the removal of this anomaly Then, Gentlemen, the Chief Court has aboto exercisus ertain quass legislative powers in regard to a good many questions relating to phenation and inheritance, and miny other nomits that outlit all to be determined by custom But these things, as well as custom, ean only properly be decided by a High Court, and I would therefore ask you to consider. Gentlemen, would it not be better for us to have a High Court for the purpose of expounding Costom and deciding intricate questions of Law With these remarks I second the Resolution which has been proposed by my friend. Mr Murlidh ir. (Cheers) The Resolution was put to the vote and correct

Davidston YIV Military and Civil 1 spendi

tore lloy Ma C. SANKARAN NATE

THE PRESIDENT - The forrteenth Resolution will be troved by the Hou'hlo Mr C Sonkaran Nair.

THE HOL ME. C. SANKARAN NAIR -Mr. President, Delicrates, Ladu's and Gentlemen. the proposition that I have to move is this -

That having regard to the fact that the embarrassed condition of the finances of the country has been giving cause for grave a ixiety for a me years past this Congress records its firm convic tion that the only remedy for the present state of things in a material cartulment in the expenditar on the Army Services and otler Military Expenditure, Home Charges and the cost of Civil Adminis tration, and in view of the proposed appointment of a Parliamentary Committee to investigate the subject, this Congress strongly recommends that the Standing Congress Committees of the several Providencies and Provinces should, so far as practicable, make arrangements to send to Fagland at least one well qualified delegate from each Presidency or Province to arga such reduction before the

Committee Gentlemen, the first part of this proposition is really the same as Resolution V which we passed yesterday. That resolution demands a full enquiry by the Parliamentary Committee which has been promised to us Naw, I would ask you for a moment in consider the gravity of the situation. We have brought forward charges, heavy charges, acquest the Government of India, we have complained, that the Civil Service of India refu es to remedy our crievances on account of selfish motives. We have complained also that the military expenditure has become so heavy that we would rather live comfortably now and suffer in a remote future all the horrors of a Russian invasion, than be slowly started to death before that time comes, if it ever does (Laughter) These are heavy charges, and there is not the slightest deabt that the trovernment of India will bring forward skill d witnesses and experts before the Parliamentary Committee to show that it reduction of expenditure is possible, to show that we are a set of discontented men and to show that the reforms for which we pray are impracticable. Now in order to meet that body of a vidence, any writtin statement is useless. It is impossible to anticipate all the doubts and difficulties which may arise, and which will arise in the minds of the members of the Parliamentary Committee when they hear the statements that will be made before them by skilled witnesses sent up for examination by the Government of India Now, the only way of meeting that coidence is by rending our own delegates men who will represent our tions, men who will explain the facts apparently milvirse to us which may be placed before the Committee by the Gorernment of In lis, men who will curry conviction into the minds of the members of the Parhamentary Committee by the information which they will be able to lace before them. Unless we do that, it is suicidal to ask for a Pirlianentary Committee the same feelings of justice and fair-play to which we all appeal will be invoked by the tr serument of India in their favour, and if we do not place the Parliamentary Committee in a farentable situation to procounce a decision on all the questions that will be presented to

them for solution, the result will be that that Parhamentary Committee will have to hold, and the British House of Commons and the British public will have to accept, that our allegations are unfounded, and that the serious charges which we bring against the Government of India are not worth any attention. That will be the result. In order to avoid that, as I stated, the 'oal; course that we can adopt is to send our own delegates who will be able to convince them If we succeed in satisfying the Parliamentary Committee of the instice of our claims, then you may depend upon it that British justice will not be appealed to in vin [Lindard continued lpplause) It has not been appealed to in vin in the past, (Applause) and history shows, in India, in England, and in the Colonies, that the sense of British justice will not be appealed to in vain if we urge our demands properly and persistently Therefore I would say that we are bound to strain every nerve, to spare no pains, to make every effort to supply this condition of success-that is, to depute a competent body of representative Indians to place before the Committee such information as will persuade them to grant us those rights and privileges for the attrument of which we must be prepared to secrifice our time, our money and our unremitting labour With these remarks I place the proposition before you Cheere)

Fourth Day

Resolution XIV

Military and

Civil Expendi-

ture

Hoy Mr C

SANKARAN NAIR

Mr D F Wacha -The Honorable Mr Sankaran Nur, the mover of the Resp. Mr. D F Wacha. lution, has stated the reison why it is incumilent on us to submit evulence before the Parliamentary Committee of Enquiry which is about to be granted to us next session. No doubt it is necessary for as to verify the allegations we have been bringing against Government for some years past, and I have no hesitation in saying that if half a dozen Indians of knowledge and experience could be found to proceed to Fagland and give evidence m support of those allegations before the Committee, we should be fully able to establish our case. For the facts to which we ende wour to draw the attention of the authorities from time to time are there. They cannot be gain said. They are on record in the many official publications of the various provincial administrations and of the Government of India What those facts are I will endeavour to bring before you as briefly as possible within the extremely limited time at my command. They all have reference to finance Now, Gentlem n, you know the well known saying that a good Government cannot exist with bad finances and that a bad Government can exist with good finances (Hear, hear) It is bad Snance, then, which is at the root of our complaint. You have often heard it said that if India is ever lost, it will be lost on the floor of the House of Commons Gentlemen, for in part, I and I alo not believe it (Hear, hear) It is simply cant to say so It is the cant of the officeral classes and the cry is taken up parrot like No, I am firmly of belief that so long us the House of Commons is alive to its serious responsibilities India can never be lost On the centrary, India will gain by the interference of the House of Commons in Indian mitters (Cheers) But I have great from that if India is lost to the British, it will be in account of its mescral le fin mees (Hear, he tr) It is the mismana gement of our finances who h is at the toot of the chronic emberrassment of the Indian Treasury Now, Gentlemen, let me tell you that it is a maxim of state craft that expenditure is regulated by policy. It is the policy of the Government of limits which is the greatest disturbing element of its finances For the lattice years it is the military policy of the corpire which has dominated the while domain of linhan finance. It is that hallow plea of "preparedness," preparedness to need I nglin I's enemies on the frontiers east and west of India, which has entailed enermous expenditure on the army services in all its branches. Its oppressive effects have be evalent in the difficulty which the Government has found during the last few years in balancing the innutal income and expenditure. This transcends all other causes jut together But for this fatal policy, which has such powerful advocates in the Viceregal Council, India would not be to-day in the figureral strait it is - a strait which finds Government at its wits' en la to meet the many deficits. For the permanent intereses of In hait is impere are that we should demand a material departure from, if not a complete reversal of, that musche your policy The Secretary of State is in the first instance the responsible authority who should be appealed

Fourth Day

Resolution AIV

Military and
Civil Expenditure

Atr. D. E. Walks

to but in the second instance the High Court of Parliament (Cheers) I assert, Goulemen that in order to produce a healthy condition in our finances, so essential for the cause of good Government, the Military policy of the Government must be vigorously attacked (Hear, hear)

As to the facts in reference to the military expenditure, it would be superfluons for us to refer to them here at my length I may say apeaking for myself, that I have been a sort of wandering ministrel on more than one platform (La ichte-) On this subject I have rused & wall, and a "prolonged wall" chanting to one tune in divers tones (More Lauthter) From the day of the very first Congress, held at Bombay, I have descanted on the many facts and figures in connection with the ever growing military expenditure—facts and figures which are now acknowledged to be correct (Cheers) In March last, in my capacity of Honorary Secretary of the Bombay Presidency Association. I prepared a memorial embodeine facts and figures which our Association submitted to the Vicerov in Council The Hon'blo Mr Westland steered clear of them, but took the opportunity to fling gibes and neers at the Congress On the lines chalked but in that memorial, the British Committee of the Congress lannehed a Memorandum, which was circulated among Members of Parliament at or about the time of the debate on the Indian budget. Mr bowler had absolutely nothing to say to the hours embodied there He took shelter for his failure to challenge them under the plea that he bad no time to go into them Gentlemen, do you believe that had those figures been inaccurate. Mr Fowler, well ceached by the permanent officials of the India Office, would hate been slow to prove their fallacy ? (Hear hear) Well, then I say that I have no melination to go into all the details of military expenditure which since 1885 has mounted up from 16 to 23 crores I shall only submit to you the broad features of that growth, desling also with civil expenditure, in addition I will put before you a table of the growth of revenue during the same period, and ask you to judge for yourselves For further enlightenment, I can only refer you to the more elaborate and comprehensive Memorandum of bir William Wedderhurn's Committee to which I have just referred-a Memorandum, which as you know even an ex-Finance Himster, no other than the redoubtable Sir Auckland Colvin-is constrained to confess is quite conclusive (Hear, hear) Hore then, Gentlemen, I submit to you the following three tables first, A, which shows the total growth of net military expenditure, civil salaries and establishments, and miscellaneous charges during the nesude, secondly, B which shows the total forces during the same period of the Home Charges, as discharged by what are called "sterling remittances," and, lastly, C. which exhibits the growth of the principal heads of revenue

Α

Statement showing Total Growth of net Heldary Expenditure, Giril Salaries and Establish cont. and directlaneous Clarges from 1881 80 to 1892 93 *

	-	tn C	IN CRORES OF RUSER			
	Pasticulas	1844 43	Annual Average 1984-66 to 1997-93	Total growth		
		•				
het Army Services (exclusive e. M. 1 ary Roads	of Exchange)	0-95	1978 114 051	3 08 6-19 6-51		
Special Defences	Total Mil tary Lepend ture	1G 15	1919	279		
Civil Salaries and 1 stablishmer Minoritareous (178) charges	at .	1 173" 359	1166	1-24 0-16		
Managiar cons c prisoner	Total Coul Expend ture	13.9"	15 29	14		
	Total Mil tary and Civil	30-11	35 27	\$ 20		

R

Statement showned the Polal Growth of Sterling Remittances and Loss 5; Exchange from 1884-85 to 1892-93 *

PARTICULARY

Sterling Remittances
Total Loss, by Exchange
Loss by Exchange (n Army Services only

Fourth Day

Resolution XIV
Military and
Civil Expenditure

MR D E WACRA

-	'IV WILLIONS .					
	1964 %	Average An must growth 1885 86 to 1892 93	Total growth			
£ Rx	13.75 3.35	14 59 6 30	0 64 2 95			
Rx	V94	174	080			

C.

Statement showing Total Growth of net Revenue from 1884-85 to 1892 93 *

		I.	CRUSS OF R	PEER
	Heat - of Revenup	1884-85	Average au nual growth 1885-86 to 1892-93	lots) growth in 8 years
Land Opium Selt Stamps Secus S	,	16 42 5 84 6 02 3 42 3 88 2 73 0 86 0 43 0 30 0 10 0 70	19 90 6 18 7 14 3 82 4 55 3 19 1 28 1 36 0 55 0 15	1 43 0 32 1 17 0 40 0 67 0 48 0 42 0 89 0 25 0 25 0 04
	Total	42 75	48 89	614
	Net Total less bengaments &c	41 52	47 49	5 97

Now, (centlemen, you will have potreed from the figures just read out to you, how much more oppressive is the burden of Military and Civil expenditure than the whole burden of Evchange, which was intherto fallaciously considered to be the sole factor of the embarassment of our finance. (Cheers) The fallacy has been exploded, and it is to be hoped that the Finance Department will not again use it to throw dust in the public eye. (Cheers) I repost, then, that as far as this expenditure and the expenditure in connection with n pirt of what are called Home Charges, is concerned, our ripresentatives, if they only go ibonit in the right way, will be able to make out an extremely good case, not from their own facts and figures to the form facts and figures continued in numberless official publications, especially those pouleious blue and yellow books called the "Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India." Similarly, other subjects, such as those of land returns enhancement, could be properly represented to the Parlamentary Committee in prove the corrections of our grievance in that matter. But I will not detain you further. Before, bowever, I resume my sets, I beg to refer to three important recommendations which we should bring to the notice of the Committee. Firstly, revision of the unequal and one sided apportionment of the charges in connection

Fourth Day

Resolution XIV Mintary and (191] Fapendi

ture

HR I) F WACHA

with the army arrives which is insisted upon by the British ire is my. As you are aware, Indea is a joint sharer in the cost of all changes which from time tetime are made in the British amy under that fittal scheme known as the Army Annelgamation. Set came of 1859, ca which descant de authencethy at the first Congress. Professor Fawcett called it a joint pirtner-dup in which the wealthy and strong partner (Fugland) impactly demanded more than her far is lain from the wealthy and strong partner (Fugland) migastly demanded more than her far is lain from the wealthy, and the poorer one (Inda). As usuall the wealthy reseal has gone to the wall (Slame). This unequal and one-sided way of sharing the cost requires to be modified. There is simple evidence to prove our case and enforce the suggestion I line just referred to be considered throughout these should be some stationer declaration for a fixed contribution by England to

(Slame) This unequal and one-sided was of sharing the cost requires to be modified There is ample evidence to prove our case and enforce the suggestion I have just referred t Secondly, there should be some statutory declaration for a fixed contribution by England t India towards the increased military expenditure, which is solely brought about by English's continental policy, of checkmating Pus it on the Bospheros I and mouth on this subject at the Congress at Nagpore and must desert from resterring my views here. Thirdly, it is time that we agreed for the guarontee of ludia's debt by the Imperial Government. The first Congress at Bombay laid great stress on this, but since then the subject his been but aside For. Conflemen, remember, John Bull is theroughly alive when he feels that he is bonne muleted in his pocket (Laughter) It is only when the sh separches him that he is awake, and endervours to find out in whit part of the shoe it withat ie feels the pinch When he finds that in his own budget he has to pay annually to Indra a certain sam as his imperial contribution, he would seen began to take a keen interest in the hudget. Our In han he light, in that contingency you may rely upon it, would be well attended and well debated (Hear hear) It will not be such a sulemn mockers, snare, and delusion, as it is now Heir heir) This is a consummation devoutly to be wished in our own permanent interest Political justice demands it, and I need not dwell mon the many political advantages attending on such a condition of our financial affairs In short. India's interests, instead of being neglected as they are now, would be most watchfully and carefully attended to Let us therefore all work together and make one united effort to achieve that result And one way of achieving it is to put it before the propose ! Parliamentary Committee Our case, I repeat, is an unimperchable case, and we are bound to succeed in the end if it is properly represented by the whom we may depute to represent (Loud and long continue | Cheere)

M1 A B NAKURS

Mr A B NARBE -Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, and Fellow Delegatos I have great pleasure in supporting the Resolution which is now before the house Indeed. I have not much to say after what has been said by the last speaker. I have comfrom a small district called Sanger in the Central Provinces. It was lately affected by a great famine. In our district wheat is the staple food and that crop completely fuled the year. The failure was to such an extent that we did not reap over a one anna crop and our condition was reduced to such an extent that every Malgu ar in the district was atterly runed. Every one of them became a debtor. When we represented the matter to from rument, the Community first of all refused to admit that there was anything like a famine, but when we showed them by facts and figures that there was a famino they said "see for yourselves what you can do, we cannot hely you When we said to the Government, 'We shall not be able to give you any money this time, and when the Government saw that that was really the case, then they came forward with a small sum of three lakhs as a loan to the people for seed grain. You know it is a district with a large area, where more than eights per cent of the population is agricultural. Three lakks of rupees were nothing, lut when we showed this to Grarmment, and asked for more, they would not gire it then our poor people were derren to starration (Shame We miked Government to open relief works. They did open relief works but to a small extent the poor people were given only the now famous ration of one-anna per man as fixed by bir Richard Templ and that was given to men required to work from sariv morning till evening. It was only given for work done, and not to those who could not work bubscriptions had to be recon and a private relief fand was fermed for those who could not work

In 1878, after the great famine of Madras, the Government, in order to insure us against famine, levied a tax called an additional tax for famine insurance, and promised to save us from those famines in future, but when the famine came they said, 'We never promised any such thing as that,' and the whole money was appropriated. The Central Provinces have paid more than twenty-two lakhs of supees into the treasury on account of this famine insurance fund, and had the Government come forward with only a small amount, the two districts would have been saved, but the Government said "we have no money, we have not promised to insure yon against famine.' I do not know why the additional tax was taken. There is a great iteal of extravagance on the part of the Government, and it is necessary that steps should be taken to check such extravagance, and it is, therefore, necessary to substantiate our case before the British nation, so that it may exercise a check over this extravagance on the part of the Government and save our peasantry from being ruined. If the peasantry arcumed, it will be difficult to replace it. Our Government must not break its promises and act so dishonestly every mine. (Cheers)

The Resolution was then put to the vote and curred

INF President --- Mr Master will move the next resolution

Ma Master -- Mr President and Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, it gives me immens, pleasure to move the following Resolution --

That this Congress is emphatically of opinion that it is inexpedient in the present state of education in the country that Government grants for higher education should in any way be withdrawn, and concarring with previous Congresses, affirms in the most emphatic manner the importance of in creasing public expenditure on all branches of education and the expediency of establishing Technical schools and Colleges

Leaving the other part of the Resolution to the gentleman who is to follow, I shall say a few words on that portion which relates to technical education, in the sense of industrial education. The subject of technical education is the subject in which I am specially interested Simply with a view to show you that I am not a theorist, I, with your permission, will say a word or two with respect to myself Leaving Government service and going to England. I studied in a Lechnical College for a number of years, and it is as a result of that education that I started an Industry which I have been carrying on for the last eight years (Applicate) I lave written papers and pamphlets on the subject, and am more or less familiar with the question of technical education Gentlemen, the age we are living in is the up of Science , Science is the factor of a revolution in the industrial world India was once known for her arts and industries She taught the whole world the art of weaving, but, in consequence of her failure to keep pace with the advancement of science, she has suffered and suffered very cruelly from industrial paralysis. We look with immense satisfaction to the growth of the export trade of this country, but the true salvation of this country is in the development of arts and industries. An emincht man has said that for development we must expect envelopment, and in the shape of envelopment I ask where are the technical schools and colleges. In Calcutta we have none I say, in the sense of Industrial Colleges, and not in the sense of Lugineering Colleges, in Calcutta we have none In Madras we have none In Bombay we have one, but I am sorry to say that for want of funds it has been starving There is no chur of Chemistry, no chair of Physics. Poverty of means brings poverty of results (Hear, hear)

The British Commissioners in their Report on Technical Education say "Technical "High Schools in wexist in nearly every continental State. Our Commissioners believe that "the success which his attended the foundation of estimate manafeaturing establishments," engineering shops, and other works on the continent could not have been achieved to its full "extent, in the face of many retarding influences, but it not been for the system of high "technical metruction in these schools." ** * * With the exception of one school in Paris, "all these schools have been created, and are maintained, almost it the expense of several

Resolution XIV.
Military and
Civil Expenditure

MR ABNALHRE

Resolution &V. Public Education.

MR MASTER

Fourth Day

Resulut on XV

Public Education

Mr Marter

"States" What more care I say, Gentlemen. All these schools on the continent, according to the informatic a supplied by the gentlemen or by the jury appointed by the English Government, are in intained, at the expense of the State. "The hundrings are palatial, the labors "to rice and Unicums are could not detective, and the staff of Professors, who are well paid near rings to the continent of standard, a so numerous as to admit of the intoint subdivision incidently and the subjects taught." An emment authority, while the lang with the subject in respect of treat Britain, said. "Me can be pastfield in he ping. * * * * that the Legislature and "his State will more and more recognise the claims of Science to their attention, so that it "the State will more and more recognise the claims of Science to their attention, so that it of "any no longer require the legging box," but may "speak to the State like a favoured "any no longer require the legging box," but may "speak to the State like a favoured "only no longer require the legging box," but may "speak to the state like a favoured "only no longer require the legging box," but may "speak to the state like a favoured "only no longer require the legging box," but may "speak to the state like a favoured "only no longer require the legging box," but may "speak to the state and the state will recognise."

"In Section the Constant of part and solvetude for its wilfart, that the State will recognise the claim of "one forward to give a best recognised to the claim of Science of Science (Science Science).

(Hear, her)

Gentlemen, technical relacation does not at all main simply familiarity with the bask it implained is a following the hole of the maintenance of the mai

MR TOLS RAN

(Obsers)

M. Lies Ray—Wr Chairman, labbes and tentlemen and Lellew Dilegates, coming as a Delegate for the Weavers of Southern India, I bag to lay before you the present unhalp is condition of the weavers. Waiving a silenting rigidly and threatening research and a not remedial necessares are not not once adopted. You of the weavers have to disappear vers as in if remedial necessares are not not once adopted. You of the weavers have become agreement threats some are employed in keeping carts and hulls in cellecting said from rivers for lunkling purposes. Is that the combition of a weaver. Bonares and Madurary the only two great centres of the weaving indistry, and if to verminant ito not foster sections of will be a great death blow to the cause of indistry in this part of links

Heal proud to tell win that we have at the time in our multi-tibut most distinguished chicationalist the Heable and Rev. De Milhy of beers, for this is a proposition which conserved the chication of the pulpit of limb. Buthers the weakers are clearly including a best to real and write. If they appear before a flegistrar without an clear all rink hows how to real and write. If they appear before a flegistrar without enquiring, I thun whether they know how to read and write, he links then it touch the pen He autorpaiced troughly that they are ignorant and that the Government are not critically included in the control of the masses. At present the people are devoting their attention to primary education only. While I morpe and America, not astisfied with the power of steam, are trying columnously, we are thing our with in the nationatic operations of cition printing and other things, we are thing our with in the next primitive fashion with in shuttle and the form. Government is load encourage in every way, and give help to labourer and arising they will soon disappear if no help is given, for the property of a nation only depends on the skilldings and destority and the continued lab its of the industrial portion of the community. (Cheers)

The Resolution was put to the vote and carried

THE PRESIDENT —The next resolution will be moved by Pandit Bishan Narain Dar PANDIT BISHAN NARAIN DAR -Mr President and Gentlemen, the Resolution which

I have the honour to move runs thus -

That this Congress conenrs with its predecessors in strongly advocating -

- (a) The reduction of the Salt duty by at least the amount of its latest enhancement
- (b) The raising of the Income Tax taxable minimum from five hundred to one thousand Rupees.
- (c) The persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial administrations to induce them to carry out in its integrity the excise policy enuncisted in paragraphs 103 104, 105, of the Despateb published in the Gazette of India of March 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of local option in the case of all villages,
- (d) The introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persoos in warrant cases to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate they may be committed to the Court of Sessions
- (s) The fundamental reform of the Police Administration by a reduction in the numbers and an increase in the salaries and in the qualifications of the lower gredes and their far more careful substiment and by the selection for the higher posts of geotlemen of higher capacities more in touch with the respeciable portions of the commonity, and less addicted to military pretensions than the majority of existing Dapoty laspectors General, Superintendents and Assistant Superinteodents of Police, are at present .
- (f) A modification of the rules under the Arms Act so as to make them equally applie able to all residents in, or visitors to, India without distriction of creed easts, or colour, to ensore the liberal concession of liceoces wherever wild snimals bahitoally destroy buman life cettle or crops and to make all licences, granted under the revised rules of life long tenure, revocable only on proof of misose, and valid throughoot the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued ,
- (c) The establishment of Military Colleges in India, whereat, natives of India as defined by statute, may be educated and trained for a military career, as Commissioned or Non Commissioned officers (according to capacity and qualifications) in the Iodian
- (h) The organizing throughout the more warlike racea of the empire of a system of militia service
- (1) The authorizing and stimulating of a widespread system of volunteering such as obtains in Great Britam amongst the people of India
- (1) The discontinuance of the Exchange Compensation allowance granted to undomiciled Furopean and Eurasian employees of Government, invotving an annual expenditure of over a crore of rupees while the Exchequer is in a condition of chronic em barressment,
- (A) The giving effect to the report of the Parliamentary members of the India Office Committee on the subject of the Rules, Orders, and Practices in Indian Cantonments, with regard to Prostitution and contagions disease, and the endorsing of their conclusions -
 - (1) That the system and incidental practices described in that Report, and the statutory rules, so far as they anthorized or permitted the same did not accord with the plain meaning and intention of the resolution of the House of Commons of June 5th, 1888, and
 - (11) That the only effective method of preventing these systematic malpractices is by express legislation

Fourth Day

Resolution XVI. Omnibus Reso-Intion

PANDIT BISHAN NARAIN DAR

Gentlemen, it is not necessary for me to speak much in support of a Resolution which

Faurth Day Resolution XVF Ommobre Reso Intion

> PARIST RISHAN NAMES TO 1

sections of the Indian community, with regard to which there exists no difference of opinion whatever The demands that are included in this Resolution have been niged from the very beginning of the Congress, upon the attention of the Government of this country and the Government of Lingland Their importance in the same as it was ten years ago, their ingency is the same, and be it remembered that the obstrucer of our Government in refusing to grant them is also the same Gentlemen, it is impossible for me within the time at my disposal to give you even a brief review of the various demands that are included in this Resolution, but in touching upon a few of the most important ones I take up first of all the very first thing which is put in the Resolution with regard to the reduction of Salt Duty. If there is any demand which is made by the Congress in the name of the power masses of this country, it is the demand which is included in the first portion of this Resolution It tenches not the richer class, nor those who are called the higher class. but it touches the vast masses of the country. (Cheers) When you consider how heavy is the Salt Duty which the Indian masses have to pay, as compared with what is paid by other countries, you will have some idea as to what effect the present system must have noon the fortunes of this country The average income per head in Europe is £15 4s , and the salt duty per head le 11d The average income per head in Iudia is calculated at £2, and the salt daty 6d In Furopo the salt duty as two thirds per cent on the income and in India at is about one and a quarter per cent (Hear, hear) Now, Gentlemen, coming to the Police Reform, which you arge, if there is anything which has a most important bearing with regard to the question of the popularity

or unpopularity of the Government of India, so far as the masses of the people are concerned, it is their relations with the Polico of this country If they know the Government, they know it through the Police or the Collector, and if the Police system is vicious and oppressive, as at present it is undoubtedly, then whaterer may be the virtuo in the Government, whatever their intentions, so far as the mass of the people are concerned, the Government will and must remain unpopular The two principal things which we urge with regard to this Polica reform are, that there should be ansieunt inducement in the Polico Department for men of the higher class, for men of higher social standing, to seek service in this Depart nient, and also that the higher posts should be thrown open to the natives of this country The practice that at present obtains under that system is that the posts of District Superin tendent of Police and other bigher posts are almost invariably filled by Europeans, or, in fact, by such Furoncens as are not thought to be fit for anything else. They are given those posts I salumit that this is a reform most argently acceded, not in the interests of that class which this Congress is particularly supposed to represent by our critics, but in the interests of the masses at large (Cheers)

Now I come to the Rules nuder the Arms Act If I support this part of the Reso lution, it is because I look upon the present rules, the pre ent system, under which the Arms Act exists as a brand of racral disqualification, a badge of servicede which we have never borne ander the wors despot Fren in Mahomedan times, whatever may be the ments or demerits of their regime, the distincts a which is stereotyped by such laws as the Arms or dements of their regime, and at does not speak to the credit of the Foglish Government in this country that after 150 years of British rule a ladge of racial distinction should be allowed to the country (Cleers) Another very important demand which is included in the anowed to the server of the people of this country I should hav thought that those people who have of late orniced such keen interest in the welfare of the mortial races of this conutry, when the quest is of Simultaneous Examinations was before them, would have done something for the career of these martial races mem, would nave come remarked as the perfectly justified in making, not only upon the ground a demand which the martial races are perfectly justified in making, not only upon the ground of their own personal interest, but upon the very high ground of patricism and loyalty—patricism to their own country and loyalty to their covercing. (Cheers) They make this demand because they think that the time has come when on financial considerations there abould be more natives of this country following the military career, in order to cut down the foreign agency which at present eats up our money, because they think that it is loyal to their Sovereign to be prepared, should any critical occas on arise, to defend the honour of their Sovereign, and also because they think it patricies, should any emergency arise, to fight for the sakes of their fathers and the temples of their gods. It is upon these high principles that these demands are arged upon the attention of the Governments of Iudia and of England (Cheers)

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Pandit Bishan Narahy Dar

Gentlemen, another most important subject which is included in this list with which I have to deal is that dealing with the Exchange Compensation Allowance Gentlemen, if I were asked to point out any action or any measures of the Government of India to show that the policy of the Government in this country has of late been that India is not for Indians or for Englishmen but solely and wholly for Anglo-Indians, I should point to two measures, I should point to the rejection of our demands for Simultaneous Examinations, and I should point to the granting of Exchange Compensation Allowance [Loud Cheers] India is at present governed in the interests of a particular clase Now, Gentlemen, I look upon these two actions of Government as two crimes-grave crimes committed against the inst aspirations of the people of this country, against the honour of England and against the noblest instincts of humanity Ahout the poverty of India you have heard a good deal Mr Seymour Keay spoke with great anthority upon this point, and we all listened to him with the deepest earnestness when he went into the miserable and impoverished condition of the people of this country We have also heard the figures and facts cited, in support of the charge we bring against Government, by Mr Wacha, who has lately spoken Mr Seymonr Keav is, after all, an Englishman, and is a member of the Radical party He is one of those Lord Sahsbury called the one-legged rulers of the Honse of Commons, Mr Wachs is a Parsee. and, therefore, in the ethnology of Anglo Indians, he is not a native of India, hut let us hear what one of their trusted officials bas to say on this point (Hear, hear)

A very remarkable article appeared some months ago in an English Magazine, by the late Lieutenant Governor of our Provinces, Sir Anckland Colvin. He writes on the perilons growth of military expenditure in this country He says that if the expenditure of the Indian Government goes on increasing, then Russia need not move troops, she has only to bide her time. discontent will do its work, and the retribution will come Now, Gentlemen, when such is the impoverished condition of this country, Exchange Compensation has been granted to Anglo Is dians, in spite of the critical condition of Indian finances (Shame) The poor taxpayer is burdened with an additional tax | The man who cannot properly afford to pay for salt, has that commodity taxed. The poor man is taxed so that the rich man may be pampered. It is a very and reflection that under God's providence, under British rule in this 19th century, and in the time of one of the noblest overeigns that has ever ruled the children of men, under such conditions of Indian finances it should come to pass that to those "who bave much, more should be given, and from these who have little even that little should be taken away ' (Cheers) Now, Gentlemen, for this measure it is not only the Government of India, but I must say it is also the Home Government, that is responsible. We can never expect the Anglo Indians to support us in a measure like that, it was to their interest to urge their claims and to get as much as they possibly could Upon all such occasions the House of Commons. the British Parliament, has been the main pillar of Hope From the Anglo-Indians we can never expect much, and we do not expect much , but we have always thought, and do still think, although I am afraid with great misgivings, that the moment (whatever the Anglo-Indian may do here) we appeal to the House of Commons and bring the injustice and the anomaly of the arrangement to their notice, that anomaly and that injustice is sure to he removed and

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of despair (Cheera)

redressed (Hear, hear) But upon this measure, and upon other measures lately, the conduct of the Liberal Government in the House of Commons (I heard it with sorrow and I utter it with reluctance) has been anything but worthy of their past traditions. I am sorry that Parliament has made itself so conspicious in the manner. I am sorry that on the question of Exchange Compensation it has thought it right to reject the just demands of a weak zinc in order to maintain the unjust demands of a strong rice. Gentlemon, it is a very said thing that the fair fame of Lugland and of her Parliament far justice and integrity—a fame which rest upon the solid foundation of History, a fame which has been our Pole star, and has goided our course over the troubled sea of Augle-Indigs oppression—that that fame at present seems surrounded by mists and fogs of low party consideration and class interests, and is sobserred and dimmed, and that round us and about us there is nothing but the blackness and darkness

Our great friend and leader, Mr Home (Cheers) has sent us through the pages of India a message of hope He is ever hopeful, and is never dounted by difficulties and troubles We have seen in critical times and on many occasions that Hope shone in his breast like a sacred pillar of fire, whence it went out into the breasts of others 1 shall be very happy indeed if my countrymen will draw as much consolation as possible from that message of hone. because something is needed to console the people of India in their hour of trouble and graf Things are going from had to worse . discontent is spreading . it is coming over the Indian mind like the shadow of some great eclipse , but in the midst of darkness and desnair there is only one ray of hope in this political agritation, and that is the prescuce of two radividuals who are India's best friends in the House of Commons (Hear, hear) There are few spectacles more noble under the sun and more liked by the gods than that of a good man fighting hard against adversity for the interests of the people (Cleers) Gentlemen. I trust that through the exertions of these centlemen, the English l'arliament may come to realise the justice and expediency and the necessity of our demands, as well as the discontent which their rejection is sure to create in the people's mind, and the serious consequences which always follow in the train of popular discontent I am sure that, if they once realise this, it will not be long before they turn their steps towards the direction wherein hes the peace and normanence and prosperity of the Empiro (Lond and long continued Cheers)

Mr. Rivor Carat

ME RAGA CHARL—Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen, the proposition I have the honour to second contains the hindget of our standing greenaces. Unfortunately for us, this have formed no small part of the deliberations of this angiest lody, year after year 1 justify my selection for seconding this resolution, not on the ground that I have the necessary ability and experience to deal with all the multifarious questions of importance therein contained, but that I have the honour to be the Captain of the Volunteer Corps of the Tenth National Congress. I will, therefore, confine my remarks only to clauses (g), (h) and (i) of the resolution. Before proceeding in detail with the clauses theresives, I take it for great cd, and you will all cooper with me m so doing, it at whatever national traits we are beginning to love, we still retain in in the martial spirit that adorned our ancestors of old. For the proof of this I do not with to take you back and call your attention to the many deeds of vilour and victory recorded in the pages of our lasting. Gentlemen the very sample fact that the Government of this country has been throwing every kind of obsticle in the way of the admission of the natives of this country to efficient it is unlitary department is a patent, may irrefatable proof, of the existence of a latent carriol expectly in the unit on (Hear, hear).

The short eighted policy pursued by Government in respect of recruitment for military service is objectionable on two Irosal and important grounds;—on the ground of sevenditure, and on the ground of justice and expediency. Looking at the statutics of 1880 as to the comparative coeffer for lead of a soldier in different countries, we find that in France with an army of 1,200,000, its. 145, in

England, Rs 277, and an Indos, Rs 775 By the establishment of military colleges the cost per bead will be diminished, and the number of imported soldiers might also be reduced (Rear, hear) Looking again at the prospects of native officers in the British army we find a native of India cannot even after 30 years' service rise beyond a Subadar Major, on the paltry sum of Rs 200 per month, but a young Sob Lieutenant, on his arrival here, gets Rs 300 per mensem on the ground of justice and expediency (Shame)

Resolution XVI Omnibus Resolution

MR RANGA CHARI

Let me refer you to the pledges green by the British Government with reference to this matter —The Act of 1833 casets that "No native of the said territories, nor am natural "born subject of Her Majesty, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, devent or "colors, be disabled from halding any place, office, or employment under the said Government." The Secretary of State in a despatch, dated the 26th January 1886, in referring to the incidence of new taxinton in India, refers to the causes of danger resulting from the "character of the Government which is in the hands of foreigners, who hold all the principal "administrative offices and form so large a part of the army." This be says would "constitute "a political danger."

The expedient of admitting a few noblemen and feudatory chiefs as honority officers of the Indian Army, such as the Maharajahs of Gwalior, Kashmir, Mysore, Kooch Behar, and others, is not alone sufficient to cure the evil. The loyalty, devotion, the heavery and heroism of nativo soldiers are well known, and have been often recognised by Government The native soldiery is the ultimate bulwark and the main support of the Empire Sir G Greaves, late Commander-in Chief of Bombay, speaking on the military policy of India said. "We rely upon you, and you depend upon ns" (Cheers) About volunteering, let me call your attention to the fact that H R H The Dake of Connaught attested the expediency of establishing Military Colleges Mr Justice Bailey, who was Commandant of the Bombay Volunteer Corps, said that natives might be admitted as Volunteers Gentlemen, let me not be misunderstood in asking for these concessions, we do not thereby mean that every office in the army should be thrown open to as, that every one of as should have free licence to use arms and ammunition, that admission to military colleges should he free and unrestricted but what we want, Gentlemen, is to ask Government to instruct us in all that is noble, to teach as how to defend the Government and purselves against foreign aggression, to protect us from the raids of wild animals, in short, practically to teach us the mestimable boon of self help, bearing in mind that "God helps those that help themselves " (Loud Cheers)

Fourth Day

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Resolution VVI Ommbre Reso. Mr. RISCANATH

involved itself in almost honeless bankrupter, and that it ill becomes us "samey children" to add to the troubles of such a loving purent (Laughter and Cleers) To cusure our safety, our Indian rulers have increased the British force and swelled our military expenditore to keep us from war, they have generously given an allowance to a neighbour to add to our glory, they have been conquering and nunexing to strengthen our administration, they have been manuage all ranks of the Services with British talent at a much greater expense, exclud ing, utterly excluding the children of the soil, to help our progress, they have been passing liberal measures to break our industries and cripple our commerce (I aughter and Cleers)

And what is the result, Gentlemen, of this humane and self secrificing policy of Anglo Indian rule? The administration is growing more and more expensive, and the tax-magic poorer and poorer Wo are now so tax ridden that the next struw will crush our backs, and vet the Government of India presents nu annual deficit of three crores and a half Shall we not be grateful for its good intention and its beneficent rule? To pray at this moment for any oven slight lightening of any public hurden would be cruel to such a paternal Covernment Still, ungrateful Indians that we are, our earnest appeal to British and to British instice shall only bo ' Save us from our friends, our Anglo Indian friends " (Laughter and Oheers) In days when war was feared and it was felt that our military force was not sufficient to meet the contingency of the war the income tax was introduced. The income tax, Gentlemen. strictly speaking, is not a duty levied on commerce or manufacture not a tax on land or agriculture, it is an impost that is levied on money every time that it changes hands. It is, we admit, not so heavy ne our land tax, nor quito so iniquitous as ur salt tax (Laughter) We are alive to the financial embarrassments of the Government but the Government must ent its cost according to its cloth Wo call for retrenchment we want n cheaper administration. and nlong with it wo not for a proportionate lightening of ou burdens (Cleers) We have been saddled with nu income tax Every mnn who succeeds in barely keeping hody and sonl together is required to pay the Government a henevolence of 2 per cent on his httle earnings A family with an annual income of Rs 500 cannot command more than the barest necessaries of his How long will an uneconomical Government continuo to extert, from a class of people on the brink of starvation such a heavy duty, and that too on no properly taxable commodity? We demand that at least the minimum of taxable income be raised, so that the hurden may fall only on such shoulders as can be expected to bear it Gentlemen, I therefore beg to support the proposition that the minimum be mised to its 1,000 per annnm (Loud Cheers) The Resolution was pat to the vote and carried

Tay PRESIDENT

THE PRESIDENT -In connection with this "Omnibus ' Resolution I should like to say that Mr Bannery has handed over a petition to the Congress, signed by 26 missionaries, relating to clause (k) of this Resolution, and arging upon us the question of temperanco and social parity

I should like to say that this day, the 20th of December eighty five years ago, the "Grand Oll Man" of Fugland was born Let me call for three cheers to him (Three hearty Cheers were given for Ur Gladstone) As we have done hitherto Gentlemen, I suppose with your permission 1 may send a telegram to Mr Gladstone, congratulating him on the eighty-fifth aniversary of his hirthday, I nm particularly glad that I an Irishman, should have the opportunity of appending my name to it (Hear, lear and Cheers) I suppose we may also send n telegram to Inlin's Grant Old Man, Mr A O Hume expressing our thanks in behalf of the cruse with which he had so much to do in starting (Loud Olerrs)

Three enthusiastic cheers were then given for Mr. A. O. Hume

The Persinerr -The next Resolution will be moved by Mr R N Mudholkar, of

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Faurth Day

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the Magistrate will be acting, not in a judicial capacity, but in an executive capacity. There is the District Magistrate, it is true, but the District Magistrate and the Police act in all criminal matters as two different persons He is defined to be the Chief I recutive Officer of Re obtion XVII the District, and as such he is not at all amenable to the High Court proceedings, and, as the Presoved further law does not give any right of uppeal, you cannot go to the Sessions Court, nor can a High Court send for the ca-c under its powers of Extraordinary Jurisdiction So in that trict Magistrates was the door of the High Court, which is often reserted to when there is an injustice, is closed

to you (Hear, hear) Then there is this dangerous procedure existing, not only with regard to the imposition of the tax, but also with regard to noother thing in which the same powers are given Ifans damage to property is canved, if any person has received grievous hirt, or any nerson is killed. power is even to the District Ma. istrate to give compensation for the loss or for the destruction of property, or for the minry caused to the person. That compensation he has got the nower of lexying from such classes of the community as be thinks proper, or from such individuals, in such manner, and to such extent, as he thinks proper (Shame) I should certainly say there as at present in India not one officer who posses as nowers like these. In the British Isles there is no body of persons, much less an individual person, who possesses powers like these, and it is these powers which are sought to be conferred upon persons who live as you know, far away from public opinion, in what are called distant Mofinsul districts (Hear, hear) Gentlemea, it is not necessary to suppose that these gentlemen would be in any was actuated by malico in what they do We shall assume the most charitable case, the case of a man who, with the best of motives, always tries to do the thing which he considers just. How many eases are there in which even with the best of motives there have been failures of justice" Have there not been cases in which even honest judges have passed convictions, and those convictions has o been upset on appeal? Do we not know of cases where persons, with the best of motives, have been biassed by interested persons to take a particular view of thores Now, under these circumstances, at a time when public excitement must be very strong on account of the disturbances, is it too much to suppose that one party or the other may gain his earand that the District Magistrate may be induced to take that party's view of things? (Cheers) As I say, we shall give him credit for the best of motives. We need not say that he is actuated by any ill-feeling or ill will, but any Magnetrate, even the District Magistrate, is only a human being, and he has got all the frailties and all the weaknesses of a human being Looking to the fact as I have already peinted out, that this law would be nut into force in times of great excitement, it is more than likely that the District Manistrate may take sides, and, taking sides, as he would do, would there be any justice at all? Therefore, as this proposal is entirely subversive of all our ideas of justice, of fair play, if behoves us to protest against it, as a violation of the very first principles of fair play and justice (Cheers) such powers are interly unprecedented, such powers are most orbitrary, and such nowers are most dangerous, and we, who are siting in Congress, ought to protest against it One word more it is necessary to say, Gentlemen, and it is this. We have con hard our attention to one section only, for this reason, not that we consider that the other amendments are faultless, but because this amendment violates the very first principles of fair play and justice and violates all principles of constitutional administrate in It is neces-

gress do our duty, and if we go out each to our district, and send our protestations, they will be listened to (Loud Cleers) Mr. M. B. Nassosun -Mr. President and Brother Delegates, Mr. Mudholkar has referred to section XV and particularly to two festures of it I shall refer to a third feature, and then I will give you an idea of the endditions and alterations and dangerous features which they have it troduced into every place. The section that Mr. Mudholkar refers to, not only makes people within the Pelice District halle to the taxes, but it also makes non-

sary that we should enter our emphatic protest against 11, and I believe if we here in Con-

readents, the absented landlords, lable to pay the taxes, and this power also is left to the District Magistrate (Shame) Those of you who have been reaching the newspaper accounts of the recent rots between the Hindus and the Mahomedrus in the different parts of the country will, perhaps, remember one of the speeches of the satrap of the North-West Provinces, in which he, in a large public durbur, referred to the conduct of the large landlords in his province, and tred to implicate them and to connect them both directly and indirectly with the Ganralsham rots which had taken place in the different provinces. I believe, bir, that is the spirit, that is the inspiring desty of this Bill, and I say it advisedly, because I find that the Government of India, is frauming this act on the advice of the North West Provinces Government alone (Shame) The other provinces have not been consulted, their opinions have not been obtained and it is on the recommendation of the satrap of that province that this Bill is being undertaken now

With reference to the other two sections, beyond the other additions or alterations that are being made, I think this Bill suffers, not only from the fault of omission, but also from the fault of commission. Faults of omission during the limited time that I have before me I will not go on to illustrate, but I will simply give the points to which I object It suffers from the fault of omission because it has not taken note of the circumstances that are developed in different provinces and this require special treatment. (Hear, hear). All of you friends from Madras and other provinces know what happened at Masulipatam. You know the circumstances under which the powers of declaring or enlisting what are called homorary constables were used, you also know but to conduct of the District Magnitines was arbitrary. No notice has been taken of that. You also know what has happened in other provinces with reference to rules about music and the granting of a hence. It is sifters from the fault of commission, because in section 30 or 31 it proposes to entire to the Folice, to the Inspector, or the officers of the Police, the novel power of stopping, controlling and regulating processions or assembles not only in public places, but also in private places (Shame). That is, as the resolution says dangerous. (Shame)

Fourth Day

Resolution XVII Proposed further powers of Dis trict Magistrates

MR M B Nam

Recolution XVIII Lauret Management Ma D P KARANDEAR

Fourth Day

unplements edille forest products de may be granted free of charge in all cases nuder such restrictions is to quantity, ac as the Government may deem moper and that wherever hardship may be felt under present conditions the policy of the said Resolution may be carried out with reference to existing Forest areas and the existing Reserve boundaries so adjusted as to leave a anticiently large margin to facilitate the enjoyment by the agricultual population of their com innual rights will out molestation and an orance by the minor subordinates of the Department

This is the Resolution that we have now before us and I am glad that I am enabled it this stage to put it before you I am glad, because we have been for three successive years pressure this matter on the attention of the Government of India You remem ber, Gentlemen, those of you that were present it Namore, the Resolution that was placed before the Congress there was number 11, of 1891, which stul that it was necessary that Government should investigate this matter more carefully and do ill in its power to mitigate its hardship. The maxt Resolution on this subject was number 10, of 1892 Those were the Resolutions which were passed by the Congress unanimously, on the first two i coasions by the ilch gates in the one case from Bombay, and in the other from Madris and on the third occasion by delegates from the Punjab You will thus perceive the intensity of the feeling of dissatisfiction and discontent that is likely to accrue from a foolish administration of the law. It seems to me therefore, that we are nerfectly nustrified in thanking the Government of India for the circular which it has been pleased to issue in this matter (Cheers) It may be said that the very object of the Forest Law was to conserve such forests as were over and above the wants of the people You remember these were the words of the honorable gentleman that was in charge of this Bill before it was passed But you see, things have come to such a pass that Government is powerless against its own officers, that (no erminont is now come to be complimented for having issued the circular which is objected to in the same breath.

Now I think Gentlemen, there is reason to thank this Government, not because it has connecated the same principle that was the object of the law, but because it is very difficult in these days even for Government officers t acknowledge a good and sonul principle against the conduct und action of their own subordinates. It is on this ground that I claim your uttention to this proposition and claim that the Government of India is entitled to our heart felt gratitude for the circular issued by it Following the vote of grateful thanks we offer, we have something to add to it we cannot stop here, for what is pointed out in the circular needs amendment, and what is that? It consists of six ele ments, which those that have followed the Resolutions will lo able to observe consist of these things -First, things which concern food, thee cittle then hinsing then the general agricultural prosperity of the country then the communal rights of the agriculturists and their boundaries, and lastly come the minor subordinates of the Forest Department We called upon Government to pay particular attention to these six heads, and called also upon Government to point out to their subordinates that they were responsible for the hardships erested by the Forest administration In this pirticular I might well say that we might ask the Government to say take care of the shillings, the pounds will take care of themselves It is these subordinate officers that run the risk of entailing upon the head of Government consure which in some measure they do not merit. It is then officers that have to be warned, and we ask the Government to warn these officers. With these words I beg to commend tlus re-clution to your acceptance (Cleers) Me C NARASIMBULI NAME of Madris, seconded the Resolution in Lamid

Rry W W STEIRESON -Mr President and Fellow Manhers, I have much pleasure in supporting this resolution, and I say this on the ground that I sympathise very thoroughly in the main with this Congress [Hear, hear I think that this resola tion has been very well drawn. It contains pretty well all that is required at the present

Rev W W. STREURNSON

time, and it expresses it clearly, and there are several sentences of which, if time allowed, one could point out the wisdom. I should like to say that the two important points are the hardships which the people suffer under the present rules, and the still greater hardships which the people suffer by reason of the way in which they are carried out Now, with regard to the hardships of the present rules, the Government has said that fiscal interests are not of the first importance. Then why on every stone taken away from the field, on every particle of salt earth taken by the washerman, on every possible thing that can be gathered up in that way should a tax be payable. A few weeks ago in my district I came across an old man with a few sheep and goats on his right hand and a very bad pasture to the left. But a few yards away there was magnificent green grass m a reserve, yet the poor animals were not allowed to subble a single blade, and the poor man cried out, "Why has God made all these creatures, while the Forest Department will not allow the cattle to graze ' What is the other question' Even supposing we can get no relaxation of rules, there is the carrying out of the present rules which I believe is almost entirely left in the hands of subordinates of the Forest Department I maintain that there ought not to be the almost constant friction between the villagers and the subordinates of the Forest Department that there exists to-day I maintain that, and that there is no department of Government that come so closely in touch with the people, that pinches them more keenly than these two departments to the Salt and the Forest, which I have sometimes called the Irritation Departments (Laughter) Now I maintain that Government ought to watch their subordinates exceedingly keenly and that every District Forest Officer, or rather every District Magistrate (who is really the forest officer, because the forest officer is his subordinate), ought to be instructed most carefully that every source of irritation and annoyance by the impor subordinates of the department ought to be abelished for ever (Cheers)

Resultant
XVIII
Forest

Management
REV W W
STEPHENSON

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Pourth Day Resolution XIX

Laberty of the Prope Mn P Rivin CHANDRA PIECAL territory the Govornor General in Council has been pleased to make the following order -

1 No newstance or other printed work, whether periodical or other, containing public news or comments on public news stall without the written nermiss on for the t ma being in force of the Political Agent boodited printed or noblished after the 1st day of August 1891 in any local area administ red by the Governor General in Council

- but not forming part of British India 9 If after the day aforesaid any person shall without such permission as aforesaid edit print or publish any such newspaper or other work as aforesaid in any such local
 - area as aforesaid the Political Agent may by order in writing (a) require him to leave such local area within seven days from the date of such order
 - (b) and prohibit him from re-entering such local area without the written permission of the Political Agent
- 3 If any such order as as mentioned in the last foregoing paragraph he disobeyed the offender shall be liable to forcible expulsion from such local area in pursuance of an order to be made in writing by the Political Agent

Now, Gentlemen, from the language of this Notification it is clear that the Political Agent of the Court of the Native State is clothed with the authority of granting permission as he may choose and he can refuse permission without any grounds, and he can also revoke the permission once granted without grounds and any offender oan be denorted after a week e notice and if he disobeys he can be expelled by physical force (Shame) Yes, Gentle men, it is a downright shame Now the worst part of it is that the Editor of a news usper, publishing it in the territories not embject to the Native State but in the territory subject to the British laws can be condemned unheard. He has no chance of heing heard No accusation need be made It is left to the whim and caprics of the Political Agent for the time heing Gentlemen those who are acquainted with Native States are aware that they are full of intrigues and corruption and what not, notwithstanding the best intentions of the rulers themselves The Pointical Agent, notwithstanding his ability his shrewdness and his sense of justice, must, as an Englishman, see things as they take place in Native States through hiue spectacles He is the last man to know the real state of things in Native States, for the simple reason that the Political Agent, who is called the "Bara Sahh" or the great Salub" cannot see small things, while the few people that are privileged to approach milrepresent things for their own ends It is impossible for him to see the real state of affairs and it is therefore all the more necessary that their should be a free press to ventilate the grievances of the people and to bing to the prompt attention of the public and the Govern ment the short comings prevailing in those Native States (Cheers)

Gentlemen, I think that the policy by which the Government of India was actuated in issuing this notification was a most suicidal one, because the Government of India, as the paramount power, naturally expects the Native State to be administered properly To be administered properly it is necessary that the Government of India and the local Government should be accurately informed of the real state of affairs in those States The only means of obtaining rehable information is by means of a free press, and if that is gagged the outlet for the available information is annt out. Now, if there is any thing rotten in the Native States it must affect the paramount power of the Government of India, and I will, therefore, ask you to enter your emphatio protest against this, and to pass this Resolution (Cheers)

Gentlemen, by way of illustration take up the case of Hyderabad, the first Nat ve State in India It has a population of 10 millions (Hear, hear) of whom Toths are Hindus and 15th Makomedans and other nationalities lt has a ruler who is very just and there and there are some Secretaries able and ins a Prime Minister who is a very amicable man and there are some Secretaries able and honest, but unfortunately the general administration of Hyderabad is anything but sairs noncest, the Police Administration is something disgraceful you must have read in the papers only recently that there have been two instances of high handedness by the Kotwal, Akbai Jung = (Hear, hear)

Resolution XIX
Liberty of the
Press

Ms P Rama
CHANDRA PILLAI

Fourth Day

One was the case of a Marwall who was forcible turned out of the house with his wife at the instance of his landloid, without an order of a Court of justice, and his property, which was worth Rs 50 000, taken and sold. For the last six or eight months the man has been petitioning the various Secretaries and the Minister, but nothing has been ilone That is one instance. There is another which is a more disgraceful one. Two learned Sanyasis belonging to the Ari i Samaj who are now sented on the dais, were lecturing in Hyderabad This man Akhai Jung had the andacity to send for these gentlemen and tell them that they were preaching against the Moslem religion and that they must leave Hyderabad (Shame) Their lectures were listened to with attention by all people, Mahomedans, Parsees, and Christiaus, and not a man said that there was nov thing in their lectures which was objectionable, and ulat was the result? These Sanvasis had to leave Hyderabad and come to Secunderabad where they delivered their lectures, and immediately after, their paid preacher and Pandit was kept in confinement and eventually deported from Hyderabid without any inquiry (Shame) Petitions possed into the Government, but no redress has yet been granted. I quote these two instances by way of illustration to show with what arbitrary power the Police is excising its functions in Hyderabad, and thus it is therefore. all the more necessary that there should be a press to ventilate these grievances Gentlemen. you know the reason why I asked some of my friends to take up this subject -in order that, perhaps, the matter might be more forcibly placed before you by persons like Babu Surendra Nath Baneries or some other person of commanding eloquence, but I was confident that this august body, consisting, as it does of gentlemen of culture and experience, did not require eloquence or puticular social position to commend the organients to their judgment I therefore feel confident, Gentlemen, that you will pass the Resolution with acclamation (Cheers)

WE G SCHEAMANIA AIVER - Wr Chauman and Brother Delegates, I have great pleasure in seconding this proposition Mr Ramachanilra Pillar seems to regret that he was not able to secure an claruent speaker to commend this proposition to you But I do not think any very great eloquence is wanted to secure your apprehation on behalf of this proposition Well, Gentlemen, it is rather late in the day to plead for the liberty of the Press I do not beheve the British Indian Government is prepared to contend that under any circumstances a free press can be anything but a ble-sing to the people, and it seems to me to be a peculiar inconsistency on the part of the British Government in India, that while it tolerates a free press in its own dominions it should place it under any restraint in these parts of the land which are under its direct administration in the Native States Gentlemen, oftentimes these small spots of land are the places of refuge to those who are victims of misgovernment in Vative States, and glad and thankful as I am to acknowledge that in many Nativo States great improvement has taken place on all lines of idminis tration, yet there are still a few important, though small, Native States which are scandalons for imagovernment and imaladministration (Hear, hear, Nowhere is the light of criticism more needed than in some of these Natives States, and we of the Congress and the iducated community generally of India have often been found fault with for not laking up and criticising mitters relating to the Native States But, Gentlemen, how is it possible under the policy which is pursued in regard to native states by the British Government's And, even supposing that all these Vative States become paragons of good government, even supposing that no maladministration prevails, does it follow that a free Press will be snything but an advantage? It may be said that this retrograde and abourd poher has been adopted at the suggestion and request of the rulers of these Native States But we have always been under the impression that it was the duty of the paramount Government to discourage all these senseless and foolish eccentricities on the part of those rolers, because if a native ruler

Mn G Scere-

on the 13th September, extending the time for relinquishment of water till the 15th September. The Government probably overlooked the fact that it was a physical impossibility for the Gjazitte containing this notification to reach the hundreds of villages in the Districts within 24 hours! From the very nature of things the extension granted was only an extension in name, as none of the cultivators could visil themselves of it, inasunch as the cultivation season had advanced too far. When the Government was interpellated on this subject at the last meeting of the Legislative Coancil, the Government found itself intable to justify its action in enhancing the cess during the course of the year, and had to invoke the aid of rules, superseded more than twelve years ngo, denying to the ryots the option, the full option, allowed ander the rules in force at the commencement of the Fash. (Chern)

Fourth Day
Resolution XX
Water cess

MR G VANEATA

Another significant circumstance is that the capital outlay on the ningation works in question has long since been amply repaid. The Government has been making a clear profit on the transaction. The Godavery Delta, according to the latest Administration Report available, after paying an interest of 4 lakhs and odd, gave, in 1882-93, a surplus revenue of 13 lakhs and odd and a total surplus revenue of 271 lakhs and odd up to 1822-93, a surplus revenue of 271 lakhs and odd up to 1822-93, a fiter paying interect on the capital unuount. The Kistan Delta is similarly a paying concern, the surplus revenue therefrom being 184 lakhs and odd, and the net return being 8-87 per cent. The value of irrigation works cannot be measured merely by the amount of revenue realized by Government on account of water cess. The large increase in land revenue, customs, income-tax and other taxes in the said Districts is in a great measure due to the construction of these irrigation works. (Hear, hear.)

While, therefore the Government has been making such large direct profit and participating also in the indirect hencits of these irrigation works, it is prepoterous to say that it has not heen receiving "a fit return" for its outlay, even assuming the soundness of the principle of training works of this kind as an independent source of revenue. The arbitrary enhancement of the ceas under such circumstances, and that too with retrospective effect, as the Government has practically done in the present instance, cannot be définded either on any known commercial principles or on considerations of fiscal justice. This, coupled with the extraordinary position taken by the Government in applicating its action even after its attention was called to the illegality thereof by means of memorials and interpellations, has created a senso of insecurity, and the Government has to thank itself if the public have come to think that its water cess policy is above all regulations and rules. (Cheers)

While revisions of settlement are presumed to proceed upon some defined principles, the water cess seems to recognise no such principle, "fair commercial value" and "fit return" are very vague expressions. What is the limitation to the so called "fit return". The Government does not cut whether the cess payer receives a fur return for the cess be pays, nor does it traible itself as to whether its demand is not actually ternehing upon the case-pier's share of the product. Irrigated lands suffer from over assessment of both land to and water cess. If it was the policy of the old District officers, so to regulate their assessment as to make the people regard their midridial holdings as their own, and to stimulate their industry, and if, in fact they attached greater importance to remote rather than to proximate consequences and acted on the principle that Government revenue would increase as the people advanced in propertify, their successors have been unfortunately pursuing quite a different policy, in which the commercial principle seems to but in the ascendiant (Cherry). This policy is fully explained by Sir Charles Aitchison in the following words.—

"In these days when money is seedly needed to meet on every hand the growing demand for improvements, not to speak of the Millitary Sink into which so much of it is poured, there is a strong implation to force up the assertment. It is a dangerous police The mischief of oter assessment is mailtons. The millions of India are as set vocales. It

made in the near future, its word has not been beeded. A peremptory mandate has been issued. Why, it may be asked, why this precipitate organcy? The answer is simple The Imperial Exchequer must find new sources of income to meet the deficit caused by the growing demands of the compensation allowance, home charges, and military expenditure. In reply to the question put by the Hon'hle Mr N. Sabba Rao, to the local Government on the subject, it was stated that the nee in the price of grain was the main reason for enhancing the water-cess The argument seems plausible on the face of it But examine it with a little scrutiny and you will see its speciousness. In the Kistna District an acre of land yields a putti, or candy, of naddy a year on an average. The price of a rutti to the root at the time of the harvest is but Rs 20 on an average But you will have to deduct from this the necessary expenses incident to wet cultivation, viz, cost of manning the field, the cost of transplantmg, the cost of cultivation, the cost of reaping the crop, the land revenue, the watercess, the road-fund, the local and other cesses , and these will hardly leave Rs 2 per acre as a margin to the over-worked ryot But the Government of Madeas in its reply has taken into account not what the paddy fetches to the ryot at the time of the harvest, when he usually sells it to meet the payment of Government dues, but the average of the price of paddy throughout the year in the general market. This then is the error which brings about those imaginary higher prices which have led the Government to believe that the rvot is growing richer than ever The Government of Madras further thinks that the ryots will not relinquish their holdings by reason of this enhancement, and therefore feels itself safe in raising the tax. Is this the policy that a Government should adopt? (Crees of No., No.) The Government ought to bear in mind that within the deltas in question the stuple produce is paddy, and the hall of the people are engaged from morning till evening in its cultivation, and are unfit for any other walk of life by force of habit Hence is the dire necessity for them to fight against odds, to contract deht after debt, and drag on a famished existence. In conclusion, Gentlemen, if it is not desirable to give cause for discontent and disaffection to a large section nf British subjects, who are agriculturists by profession, as well as that still larger portion of subjects, the consumers of rice, if it is not desirable to follow the purely mercantile policy of screwing out every pie from the hard pressed and hard pushed, long enduring ryot. if it is desirable to lend the hand of timely succour to the agriculturists of the benighted parts of this Presidency in their unavailing efforts to relieve themselves of the weighty hurden of over 14 lakhs of rupece, I call upon you-I beseech you-and others-delegates of this noble Congress, to sympathise with the distressing situation of your brethren in the delta tracts by passing this resolution (Cheers)

Resolution XX.
Water cess

Mr V V.

Resolution XX

MR S B

show that it can be increased at pleasure, but never had we believed before the said imposition of this cases that the pleasure mentioned in the Act would be the pleasure applied by but a Russian autocrat, we always believed that it would not be the pleasured anybody but a Russian autocrat, we always believed that it would not be the pleasured in purpose, as the improvement of water works, but for an imperial purpose, bors a tital slite in purpose, as the improvement of water works, but for an imperial purpose, bors a tital slite in burden is thrown upon the shoulders of the ryot, and especially upon the role site in following what had for the pat five years? Then as to the procedure adopted in raising this tax, I tell you that so car us slived them. It came at a time when it vould be impossible for the cycl to first the water as therefore the bith September, for water that had been taken in the modifications and only Now, Gentlemen with these supplications they approach those who are received for the

imposition of these additional and unjust taxes (Cheers)
the Resolution was put to the vote and carried

Resolution XXI Indian Colonists in South Africa

THE PERSONNI —There recovered an important letter from the &s Assention through Mr. Kesava Pillau, drawing our attention to a subject which the present of business has been lost sught of by us, our the position of our fellow countrying the African Colonies. I now more

That this Congress exercetly entreats Her Majesty's Government to grip point of Her Majesty's ladian subjects resident in the South African Colomes by veton folio de Colomial Government dissortranching them

This Resolution was put to the vote and carried
The President——I would now ask Mr Ghosal to read the I wenty section which will also be moved from the Charle.

Resolution XXII

Deputations to Lord Elgin and Mr Fowler Ms Guesal -the twenty first resolution on the agenda now become second resolution which rans as follows -

That a deputation consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed for the presenting Resolutions numbered 1 2 3 6 7 8 9, 11 12 13 14 1b, 16 17, 18 19, 20 is Excellency Lord Elgin and that the British Committee of the National Congress that he arrange a similar deputation to wait upon the Secretary of State for India in London

From Bengel and Behar — His Highness the Maharajah Bahadur of Durbhangborth Chander Mitter K: The Honorable Mr W C Bonnerpe The Honorable Wr Sivid Banerpea Mr J Ghosal Bahn Sahgram Sing Mr Shurefuddin Rai Jotendranath Cr

Babu Boikant Nata Sen

From the North West Provinces -- The Honorable Rajah Rampal Singh and Thebabo Charco Chandra Mittra

From O alh —Sheikh Rajah Huesen Khan Mr Hamid Ali Khan and Baboo d^{lad} From the Fungh —Sirder Dayal S ngh Majithia Baboo Kali Prosonno Roy Mr. ¹ Shaik Umar Bukhi Lala Murlidhar and Bakshi Jashi Ray

From Bomboy -The Honorable Mr P M Mehta CII

From the Central Prosinces -The Honorable Mr G M Chitagus and Ra

C Narsinawami Na du

From Poo a —Rao Bahadur V M Bhide Mr S B Bhate Mi N B Mule and

Nagpurkar
From Berer —Rao Saheb Deorao V nayek

From Madras —Manivikram Rajah of Cahent The Honorable Vir Sabspathy | Rao Bahadur P Anauda Charlu and Mr G Subramania Iyer

The President will, of course, head the deputation

THE PRESIDENT —I beg to move this Resolution Let those who are in favo hold up their bands (Voices, All, All)

The Resolution was carried manimously

D-seletion TTITE British Com mittee Grant HON MR

SURFIDRA NATH

DANGERIPA

Fourth Day

is that it makes solemn promises and sacred pledges, and that these promises and pledges are hroken Let not the same charge be brought against the delegates of the National Congress Tet it not he said that we make nubbc and ostentations professions of self sacrifice, but that. when the hour of performance comes, we are not equal to the occasion I am auxions for your honour If you have a particle of self respect, if you care anght for your chartered rights, if you feel the smallest concern for the political advancement of your children and your children's children, then I ask von to subscribe whatever is possible for von to pay down for the promotion of those interests, which are identified with the Congress movement (Cheers) I think we are about 3,000 of us here assembled, including the spectators—I say sympathetic spectators-and I take at that Englishmen must sympathise with us in our strungles for political liberty (Cheers) We are about 3,000 of us assembled here Well if the 1,500 dele grates were each to undertake to procure subscribers for at least 10 comes of India, the number would amount to 15,000 copies We should be in a position to raise Rs 90,000, se. Rs 30,000 in excess of the demands of the British Committee This is not a difficult tash, this is not an impossible tash. What is Rs 60,000 when rateably divided amongst a population of 200 millions of human beings? What is Rs 60,000 when we take into consideration the vast sums of money that our Rajahs and our Princes and our great men expend for the entertainment of hig officials (Cheers) Well, Gentlemen, the other day they had no difficulty in raising I think it was Rs 75,000 for a statue for Lord Lansdowne You gentlemen of Bombay are deploying the fact that there are people in that Presidence so lost to all considerations of patriotism that they have interested themselves in the movement for the nurpose of erecting what purports to he a national memorial in honour of Lord Harris (Shams) A shameful procedure it is, and, I think, as a protest against these dishonourable demonstrations, we, the men of the Congress, ought to he able to show that we are prepared to pay at least as much for the sake of the Congress as these men are prepared to pay for the gods of their worship Gentlemon, I think, the outlook is very hopeful We have got in England our own organisation in the British Committee We have our own organ, India We have a Parliamentary Committee ready to supplement the efforts of the British Committee, and we have this vast gathering of this National Congress which serves to communicate the impetus to the movement along the entire line. It seems to me that the ontlook is an exceedingly hopeful one The prospect before us is bright and it is becoming brighter and brighter day by day I ask you brother delegates, standing here facing those distant generations who are to come after us, is it not our duty the highest that we owe to ourselves, the highest that we owe to our families, the highest that we owe to our Maker, to improve this golden opportunity, to plant those seeds which, when they fructify, will be fraught with unspeakable blessings to the people of this country? (Cheers) I feel that at this critical time in the history of India anybody who fails to do his duty to the National Congress stands condemned before the eyes of God and man I can conceive of no holier daty, no more sanctified trust, than that we should improve the golden opportunity before as Make it the occasion of a splendid future for generations yet unborn (Cheers) I ask you, hrother delegates, to rise to the height of the occasion, to the solemnity of our mission Do your duty to the National Congress by unlocaing your purse strings Do the duty that is yours, pay what you have to give, it will be fruitful to the giver, it will be helpful to aftergenerations (Cheers) I desire that this motion may be carried with acclamation (Cheers) The Resolution was carried by acclamation

THE PERSIDENT -I now put the next resolution to the vote which is as follows -

That this Congress hereby tenders its most grateful thanks to Sir W Wedderburn and the other members of the British Congress Committee for the services rendered by them to India during the present year

The Resolution was carried by acclamation

XXIV Vote of Thanks to British Committee

Resolution

THE PRESIDENT -I now put the next resolution to the meeting, err -

That this Congress re appoints Mr A O Hume, CB, to be its General Secretary for the Resolution XXV ensuing year (Cheers)

Appointment of Ceneral

The Resolution was earned by aeclamation

MR V M BHIDE, then moved the following resolution -

That the Eleventh Indian National Congress do assemble on such day after Christmas day, 1895, as may be later determined upon, at Poons

Resolution XXVI Meeting Place of XIth Congress

Fourth Day

Secretary.

It is proposed to hold this Congress next year at Poona My duty on this occasion is I am an inhabitant of Poona, and I come to invite all my brother delegates to the Congress to be held at Poona in the next Christmas heldays, and I hope that you will all come We shall he very happy to receive you and do all we can to suit your convenience and pleasure (Hear, hear)

MP JUGMOHANDAS VRANDRAVANDAS -On behalf of Bombay, I most cordually welcome you to the city of Poons next year

The Resolution was carried with acclamation

THE PRESIDENT -We shall now go to the Twenty seventh Resolution, which runs as follows -

That this Congress is of opinion that the time has come when the constitution of the Congress should be settled, and rules and regulations laid down as to the number of Delegates, their qualifications, the localities for assemblage, and the like and in this view the Congress requests the Stand ing Congress Committee of Poons to draw up draft rules and circulate them among the different Standing Congress Committees for their reports, these reports together with the draft rules and the report thereon to be laid before the next Congress for its consideration

Resolution -XXVII Constitution of Congress THE PRESIDENT.

Let as many of you as are of opinion it should be passed hold up their hands (Traces. That closes the husiness of the Congress But there are one or two formal matters There is a notification which states that if the meeting closes before sunset, the photographer wants to take a group consisting of the President, members of the Subjects Committee, and as many delegates as may wish to attend

Mr P Sonascapean Cherrian -Mr President and Centlemen, I rise with the greatest happiness and pleasure to express, on behalf of the Delegates of the National Congress now here neembled, as well as on behalf of the inhabitants of this Presidency, of which I am an old inhabitant, our warm and grateful thanks to you from the hottom of our hearts for having kindly presided as President of this Assembly, and for your leaving your country for this landable purpose, and we hope that you and Mr Seymour Kear as members of the House of Commons, will endeavour us far as you can to alleviate all the grievances which we have now laid before you

Vote of Thanks to the Chair

RAI BAHARUR P ANANDA CHARLU -The proposition placed before you is one concerning the President Therefore as he cannot put it to the vote, it devolves upon me to do so

The proposition was carried with Cheers

THE PERSONNY -Friends and fellow subjects -I address you in the same terms with which I commenced my opening address a few days ago, but I would add now dear friends and dear fellow subjects, I have felt quite overpowered by your kindness and consider ation since I came to this country, and I feel additionally overpowered by this renewed marl of your kind feelings towards me At this late hour of the evening it is quite impossible for me to do justice to such a Perolution as that which his non been passed. In so far as my

President a Reply

Fourth Day
President's
Reply

efforts to conduct this Congress in a proper and dignified manner have been successful, in so far it has been owing to your good feeling and to the help and consideration that I have received from you. It has been particularly due to the hind friends that have sat round this table and to whom I have been constantly able to appeal for advice and assistance. In return and to whom I have been constantly and to appear for advice and assistance. In returning thanks I may surely, on behalf of the delegates, return thanks to the Madras Reception. Committee, the chairman and the members—for their reception and entertainment of us all Committee, the continual and the members—for their reception and entertainment of us an Whilst it would be impossible to name all those to whom we are under obligations, I cannot, on my own account, refram from referring to a few I should like to name Mesers P Rungah On my Own account, sensin from referring to a see a second size to finine access a Audignati Nadu, Ananda Charlu, Sankur, Naur, G. Parameswaram Pillat, Viraraghava Charlar, and J Goshel, and, in addition to these gentlemen, I desire to thank the Volunteers for the help that they have given (Hear, hear) In remaiking upon the splendid arrangements made here, I am sure they are largely due to the Volunteers, and on my own account—in old man who has come amongst you—I feel as if they had treated me with almost final attention and kindness I feel it very deeply, and I shall never forget their kindness to me here. In so far, Gentleneet it very uetpry, and I small never to get oner stitutions to the nero and so tar, tenute-men, as there has been any friction here, in so far as any one may feel hart by my hastiness in the char, or cutting them short, (No, no ')—anything of that kind is entirely due to myme the chair, or covering enem emers, (ave, av.) — anything vi ener show is control as conference of the I alone am responsible for it, and I am sure you will make every allowance. What I have particularly admired in this assemblage has been the manly spirit—the manly spirit of your delegates—the spirit in which you have spoken out for your country, the manly and loyal spirit which cannot but in the end prevail I should like to urge this upon you—the keeping down of all class or local differences These have not indeed been apparent in my Resping town of an class or local directances. Also also also all districts. In the house, as private conversations with members of every class and from all districts. In the house, as well as here, I have never found an inking of that, and I would beg of you, if ever a shade or a chadow of such suspicions enter your hearts, put them from you Everyone here has been actuated by a success desire to serve not party, or caste or district, but your common and beloved country (Loud Cheers) There is one other request-prayer I might almost say-that I would desire to urre

There is one other request—prayer I might almost say—that I would deere to urge upon you, that you should put from you the demon of personality here: In your sittings let the question of personality enter into your proceedings. Everyone here has common rights, and is entitled to take park in the proceedings of the Congress. No one has a higher idea than myself of the necessity that there is of entering upon political objects in a high and pure spirit—that great objects are best obtained by good men. I ownot refrain from repeating the linus of an Irish poet, referring to the spirit of nationality. He says—

It whapper d too that Freedom a ark
A service h gh and holy
Should not be mair d by passions dark
And feelings vain and lowly
For Freedom comes from God s right hand
And needs a goodly train
And rightcom men met make our land

True, Gentlemen, hat we cannot judge anyone here. It is for districts and for the constituent case to judge as to the proper men to send up, but once here they must be received on a footing of equality. (Chere) Gentlemen, I do entreat that you should press forward. Do not so much consider how soon you are gong to obtain your objects. You have already obtained an absolute good in holding these Congresses. Were the whole of this Congress movement to be aspect away, it would leave memories that would never due. You have already statumed a great supply a ware how much you good, this movement ean never due. You yourselves are scarcely aware how much you have guined in advancing the spirit of unity and lone. Press forward! Keep up your movement! (Loud Cheers)

Gentlemen, perhaps now I might say a few words in reference to myself. Might I make a confession, I never felt so lonely the last thirty or forty years of my life as I did on

the steamer coming here. But the moment I touched the shore at Bomhay those feelings ramshed, and the moment I reached the station here, all misgrangs faded away, and I felt renewed with a strong spirit. I felt no misgrangs as to my ability to take this chair. (Cheers)

President's Reply

Now, Gentlemen, it is with a feeling of intense sadness that I here hid you good hye. You are all young and hearty, and you will meet again and again in these Congresses, hit I am an old man (No, no), and in a very few days the heavy curtain of 6,000 miles will pass down between is My carnest hope is that I shall see you ngain, and again take part in your proceedings (Hear, hear) But, however this may be, Gentlemen, I shall always regard this as one of the greatest—I may say one of the happiest—experiences of my hife. It has doubled my responsibilities, and with feelings that I cannot properly give expression to, I beg to thank you most hearthly for the kind revolution you have passed to day (Loud and enthurstate Cheers)

Three cheers were then given for Her Majesty the Queen Empress, for Mr. A. O. Hume, for the British Committee, and for Mr. Dadabhas Notropl, M. P. and the Tenth Indian National Congress dissolved

APPENDIX

LIST OF DELEGATES

WHO ATTENDED THE

Tenth Indian National Congress,

HELD AT MADRAS, DECEMBER, 1894.

Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Dele gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degreea, etc	Race, Religious deno minatiou, and caste, if auy	Occupation and	How and when elected
1	Madras	Madras	IV V, VI Municipal Divisions	Hon Mr P Ruugaya Naidn Garu	V yeya	Zemndar, Vakıl Hıgh Court, Presi- dent, Mahajana Sab- ha, Member, Madrai Legislative Council	held on the 18th
2	,	"	,	Rajah Sir Savalsı Ramasawmy Muda lısı, KCIE	Hindu	Dubash, Ashburnham and Co	đo
3	,,	,		Dr S Puincy Andy	Christiau	Medical Practitioner	đo
4	,,	,		Mr M Doraisamy Pattar	Hındu Sudra	Partner in Messra Arulanadam & Sona	đo
5	"	"		N Krishnaswami Naidu, Ba , BL	Hindu Vysys	Value High Court	đo
6	,,	,	1	C Krishnan	Hındu Malayalı	Barrister at Law	do
7	,,	,	j	K Rajagopaula Charar, sa., st	Hındu Brahmın	Valil, High Court	đo
8	, [, C S Theagaraja Mudbar	Hindu	Merchant	do
9	,,	,,		V Arunagırı Naidu	đo	do	do
10	, ,			Raı Bahadur A Danakotı Mudbar	do	Landed Proprietor	do
11	, ,	,	1	Mr C Ranganadam Naidu	do	ob	do
12	99	29		,, G Paramaswaram Pilin B.A	do	Lditor Madrus Stan dard	Do also by Stn dents Meeting Tri plicane the Aerala Mahajana Sabha by the I and II Municipal Divi sions and at Cali cut and Palghat Malabar

					- n.l		
Number	Presidency on Government	Congress Circle	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele gates with Honorary	tace, Reli nous deno mination ind caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
13	Madras	Madras	IV, V, VI Municipal Divisions	Mr K Ramannja Cha riar _f	Hında Brahmın	Teacher	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1894
	1			,, Iyaswamy Pıllaı	Hindn	Banker	do
14 15		"	, ,	K Narayana Rao	Brahmn	Vakil High Court	đo
16	"		,,	BA, BL	Hindu Nayar	Staff of the Madras	đo
17	1	1		Rev T B Pandian	Indian Christian	Minister	* do
11		,,		Mr S Sabraya Cha	Brahmın	Retired Executive Engineer	đo
1	9 11	,		,, V Thrumalaı Pillaı	Hipdn Sudra	Attorney at Law	do
2	.0		,	" T S Muthusawa my Sastriar	Hinda Brahmin	Tutor Madraa Chris tian College	do
9	21 .	,	,	T Runga Cha	Hinda Brahmin Vishnavite	High Court Vakil Ananda Bagh, Eg more	do
,	22 "	19	,	" T Streemvas	Hındu	Barrister at Law, Egmore	do
	23,	. .		, M Thiramala Cha	Brahmin	Banker and Money Lender	đo
	24 .		,	,, T V Arogra sawmy Prilat, M A	Christian	Assistant Professor Pachhiappa College	do
	22			W Raju Naidu .	do	Editor Eastern Star	do
	25	'	' ' '	" D J Melchizedek	do	Apothecary	do
	26	, ,	. ¦ ".	Ras Bahadur P Ar	Hindu	Valit High Court	do
	28		., ,	Mr J C Ganesh Sive	•	335 Thambu Chett Street	y do
	29	.,	,, ,,	, V Ethirajn	In Hinda Sadra		la do nt
	30	,,	., ,	Moulvie Hajes Ziv nd deen Maham	a Masalm	Skin Merchant	do
	31	,	., ,	Han Sheikh Furt	1	Skin Merchant as Mirassdar	nd do
	32	,,	"	Mr V Ryrn Namh	nan Hudu Nayar		l do
	33	,	., ,	" P Aiyasaw Madhar, ma, 1	Mud Sudr		do
	34	,,	,,	" V Masilamone Pillar, B 2 , B L		Vakil, High Court Parsewaukum	, do

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Number	Presidency or Governmen	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele gate with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	gions deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
3)	Madras	Madras	I, III, Municipal Divisions	Mr P Subrahmania Chetty	Hmdu Sudra	Merchant	By a Public Meeting held on the 12th December 1894
36	, "	,,	,,	" C B Samnja Chetty	Vysya Syvite	do	ďσ
37	,,	,,	,,	" P N Mnthu sawmy Naidu	Hındu	đo	do
38	" .	**	,,	" P Mnrugesa Chet ty	đo	Landholder	do
39		"	,,	" SreeramnherNai dn	do	Merchant	do
40	,	"	21	,, C Subbau Rao Saheb	đo	Jaghirdar	da
41	n	- "	"	" C G Mursalim Rowthar	Masalman	Merchant	do
42	,,	,	,,	,, P M Mahamad Makdum Rowthar	đo	do	đo
43	,,	"	,,	,, V Jagramadhan Neidu	Hındu Sadra	Manager, City P and P Co., Seven Wells Street	đo
44	"	,,	,,	"T.S Theagaraja Iyer, Bi, BJ	Brahmın	Vakil, High Court, Black Town	đọ
40		,	19	" A Subramanta Iyer	đo	Teacher, Christian Collegs, Madras	đo
46		,	,,	,, N Lakshmaoa sawmy Mndhar,s a	Hındu Sudra	Tutor, Christian Col-	do
47			,,	, B Parthasarathy Naidn	đo	Merchant, S4 Subraya Vindalı Street Black Town	do
48		,,	•	,, B Ramasawmy Naidu	đo	do	do
49	į.	,,	,,	, P Doraisawmy Mudliar B A, E L	~do	Vakil, High Court; Secretary, People's Club	do
о0	,		,,,	" N. R. Adipura- nam Pillai	do	Dubash, Binny & Co , Madras	do
21	,,	,	,,	"KMMST Somesandaram Chetty	do	Merchant, Coral Mer chant Street	do

,, M Varada Chetty

"P V Krishna] swami Chetty, B A ,

" C Ramanuja Chetty Hmdu

Vysyn

do

Vaku, High Court

do

Government Penasoner, Trivettar High Road do

do

do

Number	Presidency or Government	Congress Curcle	Electoral Division	gates, with Honorary	Race, Reli nous deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
57	Madras	Madras	I, III Municipal	Mı C V Sındram Sastrıyar	Hındu Brahmın	Vakil, High Court	By a Public Meeting held on the 12th December 1894
56	,,	,,	Divisions	,, C V Kumaraswa- my Sastriar	do	đo	do
57	,,	,,	,,	" C V Visyanada Saatriar	do	Apprentice-at Law	đo
58	,,	,,	,,	" B Punchapa Kesa Sastriar, Ba, Bt	đo	Vakil, High Court	do
59	, ,	,,	,,	" P B Krashnasaw- my Naidu	Sadra	Dubash, Agents, Spencer & Co	đo
60	, (c	,,	,	, P B Moonasawmy Chetty	Hunda	Merchant	1 do
6	1 ,	,	,,	" G Subrayulu Chettiyat	Vysys	Merchant, Coral Mer- chant Street	do
				" A Balajee Siog.	. Mahratta	Contractor	do
	33 "	,,	, "	" M M Rajagopali Chariar	1	do	do
	64 ,,	,,	"	,, C S Rajaratnar Mudhar	n Sndra	Merchant	l do
	65 ,,		1 .	" P Krishnasawm Mudhar	y do	Broker, Eales & Co	do
	66 ,	. .	. 11	" Sankara Narayar Shastriar	a Brahmiu	Vakil, High Court	1
	67	, ,	, ,,	Mass Muller, B & , Can	European	don and Member London School Boar	; l
	69	, ,	, ,	Mr T Venkata Sn biar, BA, BL	b- Brahmı	Vakil, High Court	do
	69		,,	" T S Naraya Shastrar, 1 A	us do .	Law Student	do
	70	,,		" S Snibbah Che tiar	st- Vysya	Attorney at Law	i
	71		" ,	, A V Subrama Iyer, BA, BL	nıa Brahmı		qo ,
	72		,	" T V Apparae Naidu	Hında Andı Vellam	Magistrate, Sem	al do bi-
	73	,	, !	, T Krishnasaw Chetty	my Hudi	Merchant, S Gurnwe pen Street	ap- do
	74			"S Annu Chett	y do	do	do
	75	,,	" I Mum Divi	I ,, P Somasondi Chettiar			held on the 16 December 1894
	76	,	" Divi	, K Ramannja (Cha Brahm	Tutor, Pachhiapp College	a's do

Number	Presidency or Government	Congress Carele	Electoral Division	gates, with Honorary	Race, Reli- gious deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
77	Madras	Madras	II Municipal	Mr Bisesarnath Chan dik	Kshatirya	Merchant	By a Public Meeting held on the 16th December 1894
78			Division "	" P Dezikachari, s	Brahmın	Teacher,Pachhiappa's College	do do
79	n	,	,	" N Halasubiamania. Muohai, n a	Hudu Sulra	Pachbrappa'a College,	do
80	,	,	,,	, T Sitarama Chetti	Vysys	Merchant, Moses & Co Mount Road	do
81	,,		*1	"PM Sivagnana Mudhar, sa, sa	Binde	Vakil, High Court .	do
82	,,	**	,,	" P Ethiraju Mud	do	do ,	do
83	,,	,,	,	, C Venkata Subra mania Iyer, B 1 , B L	Brahmin	đo ,	đo
84	,,	,,	, "	" V Chengalva Vardsppa	do	do	do
85	U	h	,,	,, K Venkata Ling	Hındu	do	do
86	,,	,∫ "	} "	" M Venkata Rao	Brahmın	Merchant	do
87	,,	,,	n	,, S Gurusawniy Chettiar, B & , B E	Vysya	Vakil, High Court Black Town	go .
68	,,		, "	, S Thirumalaisaw my Cheitiar, BA, BL	da	do	do
89	, ,	,	,,	, Bysam Rungsah Chetty	do	Merchant	do*
90	,	,,	,,	" S Nathusawmy Chetty	do	Vakil High Court	da ,
_9	,,	,,	,,	, S Varadarajulu Chetty, B a , B t.	do	do	do
9:	2 ,,	,,	,,	" N S Rajaram Iyer	Brahmin-	Landholder and Mer chant	do
9	3 ,,	"	1	" S P Ramakrashus Naidu	Hnde	Landbolder, 24, Krish na Street, Muthial pett	do .
9				"C Ethirujala Chet tiar	Vysya	Merchant	do
9	,	19		,, T Dorstsan my Iyer	Brahmu	Cashkeeper Messrs Parry & Co	do
Ç	6 ,			" A Koudiah Chet	Vysya.	Merchant Armenian Street	do
-{	.,	,,	, ,	" Venkata Krashna ma Chetty	do	Merchant	a
9	8	,	p	" G T Alwar Chet-	da	Merchant and Land holder	do

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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele-	Race, Reli- nous deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
		Madras	VII Mumerpal	Mr P S Raghava Charper, BA	Brahmin	Teacher, Pachhiappa's College	By a Public Meeting held on the 16th December 1894
100			Division	, R Serramulu Shasiriar, RA, BL	do	Vakil, High Court, Adiapa Naickei Street Black Town	do '
101				" Krishnama Char-	do	Vakil, High Court, Mint Street	do
102				" S. P Venksta Ramansjulu Naidu	Hıodu	Ship Dahash	do
103	١.,			" P Veolatachella Mudlar, » A	do	Tencher, Christian Col lege	do
104	,			W. A. Krishna-	Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, Triplicane	do
105	١.,	1	, ,	" C Gopala Row	ф	Teacher, Pachhiappa's College	do
106		,	91	" Trikutam Subba Row	đo	Lendholder (Gooty) now at Samme House, Triplicane	Do & by a Special Miceting of the Hindu Progressiv Union, Triplican held on the 18th November 1894
10	7		,,	" M K Lakshman Charrier	do	Agent, Life Insurance Company, Bombsy	e By a Public Meetin held on the 16 December 1894
10	s		,,	" T Ruplal	Hinda Gojerati	Landlord & Merchan	t do
10	,, (e,			" T Balakrishna Doss	do	đo	đo
	1	1	1	" W Uttava Chanc	do do	do	do
	10 .			, C Thirumalai	1	Landford	đo
	1			" B V Krishna R	Brahm	Superintendent Be	do
			.	" A C Partl	ha Hindu	Editor, Andra Prak	a do
	114	1	. .	" P. K. Kothane	du-Brahm	n Nakil, High Court	do
	115	. 1		M. A. Sini		Cashier, Madrus Bu	
	116	.	. ,	, M. A Gor Chara, BA, BL.	ala do	Vakil, High Court	İ
	117		.	M A Parthasara	thy do	do	do
	118	\		, A. Bhimasona I		Manager, Janopak rans Office	a- do

Number.	Prefilency or Government,	Congress	Electoral litrasion	gates, with Honorary	Race, Reli- gious deno- mination, and caste, if any,	Occupation and	How and wiet.
119	Madras	Madras	VII Manicifal Division	Mr. C. Kamatunatham Naidu	Hindu	i Conch Builder, Meunt i Road	Bra Pablic Meeting held on the 16st December 1804
120	•			- G Sisarama Brah magojanam	Brahmip	Joint Faitor, Andra	ıl •
121	1.			" Peter Paul Polin	Christian Velsly	Agent, Landholders	do
122	•	••	-	V Krishnaammy Iyengar, ba , r t	Brahmm	Merchant, S Gara	do
121				C N Kalvanasun-	Sudra	Chrk, Madras Bank	·la
121	,,		"	, G. Varada Naida	do.	Shretramilar, Chinta	र्श १
121			:	" T Clanshyam Singh	R_{tipat}	Proprietor, City Stables	do
126				K Srimrata Ra- ghava Iyengar, na. EL	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court	đn
127	1,		-	. 5 Samana ta)	do	Landieri, Mill Owner	Do, also by a Pub- lic Meeting of the Students of Mad- ration the 21st December 1624
128		"	-	I a Harbyam Tyergar,	da	Clerists and Drug-	By a Pablic Meeting held on the Pth December 1891
129		, -		" A Viranglara Charac	ಕೆಂ	Clerk, Madras Bank	d)
1.0	-		•	t . S. Reghava Cla-	du	Centractor	d)
131		, .	}	" 7 Viranglass Classas	do	Manager The Hinde	4.5
1.5	,,	-	-	. A Kristmanana	ф	Lek	હ
ות		-	<u>.</u>	P. Krolin Racel	da	burger, 117 Virans- grata Malali Street	1.
1:6		**	-	D R Balan Race (d.	Valid, II gh Court	ž _o
145	-	٠	•	"A Sankaran lyer	4,	Be of Bean Peak Lar, Cehin 21 Nal- laran's birnet In places	ત્રીક
136	-	-	~	a (i bultu er a Arrec y a	4.	Flux. The Heads	٠,
127	-	-	-	" S. Varsils Chan	d's	Partner, Mesors Syn- r rass Varminobart & Co.	,
	<u> </u>	1	<u> </u>				

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Number	Presidency	Crovernament.	Congress	Elector Divisi	ral	gates, 111le	n full of Dele- with Honorary is, Scholestic egrees, etc	and	Reli deno ition, caste, any	Oc	enpation and Address	F	lowand when elected
138	Madı	- }	Madras	V Muni Divis	cipal	Mr S	Sımıvaşa Charı	Bra	hmin	Part	asa Varadachai		a Public Meeting eld on the 9th lecember 1894
139	١.,		"		1	" Pi	rathasarathy yengar		do	Yog			đo
140		.	•	Mun	III icipal ision	, P	R Sundram		da	Val	al, High Court	1	do
141		,		Bivi	,,	., 8	Gopalaswam Aiyengar		do		do .	-	đo
149	2	,,			11	,	T Raja Gopala cham, NA, BL	-	do		ad Master, Wesle n Mission Colleg Royapettah	y. ge,	do
14	3	,	,,		**	,,	T R Ralmanath Iyer, BA, BI	a	do	1	rnacular Superu leudent, Pachh appa's College	n- 1-	do
14	4	,,	,	1	,	,,,	K P Sanka Menou, BA, BL		Hindu Malayal Sudra		kil, High Cou dylapore	rt,	đo
9	945		,		,,	¦ "	K Smeivasa Iyo	n-	Brahmı		do ,		do
1	46	,,	١,	.	,	"	R Kappusawi Iyer, BA, BL	my	do		do		do
3	47	,,		. \	**	,	M Ponther	ela	Hıada Sudra		and Owner, My pose	la-	do
:	148	,	-	,	"		, M Manikam M Itar.	nd-	do		outractor		do
	149	11	1	1	"		, P Subrams Iyer, BA, BL	ma	Brahmu		ittorney at Law,		do
	150	11	. !	"	,		, R Subrams	REIA	do	-	Akıl, High Co Mylapore	- 1	do
	151	**	. ,	.]	**		" A Ramamu Mudhar	rthı	Hundu Sudra	٠	Vakil'a Clerk, M.		do
	152	,	. !	.	1		" M Venugopal las		do		Banker and Gov ment Pensioner		do
	153		"	"			, M Swamt Mudhar		do		Landholder, M pore Vakil, High Com	yla-	do
	154		.	"	•	.	" V R Knppus lyer, B s , B i	ſ	Brahn		Barrister-at-Law	- 1	
	155		91	,,		"	,, Eardley Nor	ton	Europ	ENII.	Dunmore Hous Mylapore	, e, 1	Do, also by Myla pore and Tripli- cane Municipal Divisions, the Str dents of Madras, the Triplicane Life- rary Union, and the Hindu Proges- sive Union

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Number	Presidency or Government,	Congress	Electoral Division	ga	mes in full of Delo- tes, with Honorary Fitles, Soliolastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religions deno minimition, and caste, if any	Occupation and	How and when elected
156	Madras	Madras	VIII Municipal Division		Ranga Row,	Mahratta Brahmin	Valid, High Court, Mylapore	By a Public Meeting held on the Pth December 1694
157	,,	, ,		••	V C Sesha Cha	Brahmn	do	do
158			,,	, "	T V Vaidganada Iyer, u a	do	Professor, San Thome College	do
, 120	"	,	,,		T. Juny Row,	do	Vakil, High Court	do
160	,,	.			C S Raja Gopala Chariar	do	Landlord Mylapore	do
161	. ,,		,,	١.	Venkata Muha pathi Naidu	Sadra	Landiord	đo
162	, ,,		71	"	M R Hamakrishna Iyer, d.a., b l	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court	do
163	ì "	-	, ,	"	T Rangaramanuja Charter, 9 4 , 9 t.	do	do	đu
161	,,	,	"	l . !	l. Venkataruma Sarroa, 8 a , B,L	do	đo	đo
165	••	.	,,	"	C ft. Tiruvenkata Charar, a a , e t	đo	do	do
166	-	"	,,	١ "	V Suryannentana Rao, s.s., p.s	đo	đo	d,
167	,,	- 1	-	"	R Venkata Subba Rao, Ba, Pi	, do	do "	do
168	"	-		۳.	V. Keishuasaw- my lyer, ba, ka	do	d>	đo
169] "	-	,,	Şi	ed Mahamad Salub Baladur	Masalman	Lardlord Advar	, do
170	-	-		31,	V Rongo Class- ar, sa, a t.	ffrahmen	Vakol Hogh Court	d,
171	"	1 -	, "	٠,	V C Dooks Cha	do	d.	, d>
172	-	-	· ••	į	Kasthursranga Iyengan Raga L.	do	do .	d.
173	· .		, "	4	wan Babalur S Scotranianjaljer, 1 cis, ka, bt.	do	Valid High Court The Lur, Mylapore	g,
174	-		{ 		r, Il Balajie Rose, e t	d>	Vakil, High Court, Mylapore	дэ
172	-	Tanjere.	Mayarana	; ; ;	N S Catesa Ayar	ds.	Miraci las, Marasaraca	ly a Pol in Meeting held on the 24th November 1914
170	-	-	-		S. P. Krobessessor lyes	ಕೆ ಎ	No Irraster, Heroman pa High Shook	ets.
-	<u></u>							·

, Number	Presidency or •Government	Congress	Hectoral Division	Vames in full of Dele gates with Hunorary Titles Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Beli nous deno mination and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
177	Madras		Mayavaram	Mr N P Smorasa Iyer, B.A., LT	Brahma	Asst Master, Munici pal High School	By a Public Meeting held on the 24th November 1891
178		,,	11	, S Narayanaswams Iyer, Ba	do	Head Master, Manier pal High School	do
	1	1	1	" S Vaidyanathier	do	Pleader	do
17º 180	, ,		. "	, A V Subsamania	do	Mirasidar and Mum cipal Conneillor	do
	1 '	1	}	[Kodandaramier	do	Mirandar	do
181 182		"		Swamiada Pillai	Hindn Velala	do	do
183		.	,	" M Sivaswamy Shastmar	Brabmin	1st Grade Pleader	do
18	,	"		, K Latchmana	do	Mnmeipal Councille and Honorary Magnetrate	or do
16	3 "		Negapa tam	, S Kuppusawms	do	Vakil High Court Negapatam	beld on the 27th November and 5th September 1891
18	, 6	,	,	" T B Panchapa kesa Chettur	Hindu Sudra	Landholder	do
18	57	,		"R Srinivasa Iyer gar, 0 a	Beahmin	Landholder, Pleade Member District an Taluq Boards Taujo and Negapatam	ıd [†]
ī	88		1	P Rathnavable	Velala	Vakil District Con	rt do
1	£9	1 .	.	, G S Ramasawa	ng Brahmu	Professor, Wesleya Mission College	nl do
1	190		.	R Vahuleva Nasda	Hindr Sadra		đo
	191	,	1	! " Kunpthapatha	m Brahmi	n Pleader	do
	192	•	1	T S Sivanadiu Udayar	abi Hudi	Landlord	do
		1		K Krishna Ro	w Brahm	In Pleader	do
	101		<u> </u>	, C A Subrama		do	đo
	103			P T Tincanina	stha ^l do	do	do
	196		\ .	" B S Astors	ja do	do	do
	197	- 1	. .	" S A Belnkrish	nes, do	do	dı
	l		1	ı	1	*	

- \umber	Pres dency or Government	Congress C rele	1, 414 011	i grat	nes in full of Dele tes with Honorary Fitles Scholast c Degreea etc	Race Reli 1000 deno minat on and custe il any	Occupation and Aldress	How and when elected
198	Madras	Tanjore	Patukata	Mr	Vij ya Ragbana tha Thirumalai S ngupul ar	Hindu Snåra	Zemindar kollarkota	By a Public Meeting held on the 15th December 1894
199				i	P V Ramachan dra Iyer	Brahmin	Journal at Tanjore	do
200					T S Covinda swamy Pillat	Umda	Miras dar	do
201				1	K I Na na Mahamad Lavras Marakayar Aver gal	namireeli	Mecchant	do
202		}	1		S Ramaswamy Iyer	Brahmin	Plea ler	do
203			Mancar	i	Gopalasawmy Iyengar	do	School Manager Man nargudi	By a Publ c Meeting held on the 11th November 1894
204		1			Sadagopa Madi ar	fi nda Velsta	Miras dar Kottur	do
205		ŀ			K G Srinivasa Modiiar	do	N rasidar Municipal Councillor Mannar gudi	น้อ
206					D Kappasawny Ijer	Brahm n	Miras dar	do
_07					\ Anautharrman Iyer	đo	Perchant	do
209			Í		N Najapp er	do	Manucipal Councillor and Member Talaq Board	lo
209				1	S le kataramier	lo	Maras Jar	do
210	i				Dasaratla Rama Iyer	do	do	đn -
211	1			ı	A J Dora swamy Vull ar	H nda Sadra	Landl of fer	đo
21.					S. Rama Inrai iger	Brihmm	Vi ras dar	ło
-13			Nann law		G Sobrana n s Iver	đo	Pleader Segupatam	By a Publ Meting held on the lat November 1504
214			ŧ	١.,	S Srin rasa Ra glava Char ar	lo	Nakil D strict Court.	10
21			••	-	M Ci lambararı 1 lbu	li via Velala	Val. I II gh Court	do
216				-	l' Sabhapati lyer	Brabwin	Miras dar	to
217		-			C Sambas ra Aryan Avengal	lo	Mrs. "sr and I" n 'er	1
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Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	l gates	s, with Honorary	mination and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
1	Tanjore	Maunar gudi	Mr /	A Thiagaraja Iyer	Brahmm	· Landholder ·	By a Public Meeting held on the 1st November 1894
	,,	,,	,, (S Krisbrasawmy Iyengar -	do	Mirasidar	do
	,,	"	,,	Ramchandra Nadu	Hindu	Landholder, Member, District and Taluq Boards	do do
,,	,,	,	,,	Govindaswamy Iyei	do	ber, District Board	
,,	, "	,,	Ra	aı Babadur S A Swammada İyer	Brahmin	Toppore Landholde	ct December 1594
3 ,,	1 -	"	M	r S A Anantha- narayana Iyer, Bi, BL	do	Vakil, High Court	do
14 n			\ "	, S Ramachandia Iyer, BA, BL	do	do	do
25 ,,	. .	, , "	. -	" C Gopal Row, B t	do	Mirasidar	
26	, ,	, , ,	4	" C Rajagopal Pillai	Hindu Velala	do	do
27 ,	, ,	, , ,		" T V Knppu sawmy Shasirian BA		Pleader and Laud bolder	d- do
228	"	" Tanj	jore	" T N Ramier, f a	do do	Pleader	do
229			,	" T Sadasıra Ron.	do do	and Mirasidra	
230		,,		, S Venkatasub bier		Pleader	do .
231		.		Hon Mr K. Kalays nasundaram Iye B 4 , B L	er, do	and Laudholde Member Madr	er,
232	,	1,	,	Pillar	Velali	a pal Councillor	
233	,	- }	,,	l Pillar, SA, BL		1	1
234	,	"	**	Sirdar	1	\.	nily do
235	,,	- \	77	Rao Sabib	1		By a Public Meets
236	\	,, Tı	ıruvalnı	r "M Ramanada I	yer, Brans	nin Picauci	held on the 2' November 1894
	Madray " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	Madray Tanjore """ """ """ """ """ """ """	Madray Taojore Maunar gudi """""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""""	Madras Taojore Mannar Me	Be to the second of the second	Madras Taojoe Maunar gudi " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	Electoral Division Titles Scholaster Transport of The Scholaster Degree etc. Transport

			<u> </u>				
Number.	Presidency or Government	Сопдтояя Спеско	Electoral Divis on	Names in fall of Del- gate, with Honorary Title, Schotatic Degree, etc	Race, Reh mons deno munation and essée, if any	Docupation and	How and when elected
237	Madras	Tanjore	Tirnvalur	Vr K Vira-swar Ire	Brahmin	Second Grade Plead and Union Chairma	er Br a Prblic Meetin z n. held on the 21th November 1894
238		,		T K Rawaswamy Iyer	do	. Pleader	do
239	,			N Varthinade	t do	do .	.i do
240	,,	,		Aiyar , T R Vaithmeds Aiyar	do	đo	1 ds
241	,,	,,		K S Krishnaswa my Ifengar	do	Vakil District Court	ilo
242	"	,		K Remesseme Shestral	đo	Pleader and Land holder	do
243	b	,,	,	T Somasundaram Mudhar	ouder	Miracidar	do
244	,,	,	".	"K Sesha Iyer	Brahmia	Landholder and Re- tired Magnitrate	do
245	,,,	,,	,	, A Veradamja Ig	do	Landlerd	do
246	н	,	Combaco-	, a Krishmasawy Izer 8 s.	do	Head Master, Town High School	du
247	U	,	,	, N. Krishinsawing Ivengar, 8 a , a.t.	do	Valil, High Court and Mirasidas	dı
248	,,		,	, I S Straswamy Iyengur	đo	Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Coun cilles	ilo
249	,,	,		, A L Thrurenga dam Pillai	Hındu Velala	Mirasidar and Muni cipal Conneillor	d,
250	,,,	,		, P Thambisaumy Mudhat	Ladian Christian	Mirasidar and Muni cipal Conneillor	ds
251	, "	,	Kuttalam	M R Ràmanadier,	Brahmin	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 16th November 1891
252	"	ļ ļ	Shiyah	, N Natesa Iyer	do	Mirnaidar	By a Public Meeting held on the 24th November 18ut
253	,,,	,,,		, C Sabanayaga Mudhar	Hındu Velala	da	do
254	, "	77	Tiruvadı	, N C Siminass	Brahmın	Mirasidar and Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 20th November 1894
255	,,		,	, K K Ramier, BA	do	Head Muster, High School	do
256	,,		Tiruturai pundi	G Venkstarenga Charar	do	Pleader and Member Usion	By a l'ublic Meeting held on the 22nd November 1894
-	<u> </u>	1		<u>i </u>			,

(xiv)

Names in fall of Delegation and Carlot of Section 1 Names in fall of Delegation 1 Names in fal									
Trich Sirangam A S Kappasawan Brahmar A S Kappasawan A S Kappa	птрег	residency or over iment	Congress		gates, with He	norary lastic	mination and caste,	Occupation and Address	How and when
Trichi nopoly Trichi			Tanjore			Mud	lludu Velsla	Muasidar	Late on the 22nd
Salawasanam Chakram Ayan, ar Salawasanam Chakram Ayan, ar Salawasanam Chakram Ayan, ar Salawasanam Chakram Ayan, ar Salawasanam Chakram Ayan, ar Salawasanam Chakram Ayan, ar Salawasanam Chakram Ayan, ar Salawasanam Chakram Ayan, ar Salawasanam Chakram Ayanam Iyengar Salawasanam Inindu Pleader and Mumei pado namilor Salawasanam Contract Sal	258	,,			K S Kupi	pusawiny	Brahmu	do •	(C.13 my the 4th
Washington and Monic pal Councillor Pleader and Monic pal Councillor Pleader and Monic pal Councillor Pleader and Monic pal Councillor Pleader and Monic pal Councillor Pleader and Monic pal Councillor Pleader and Monic pal Councillor Pleader and Monic pal Councillor Pleader and Monic pal Councillor Pleader and Monic pal Councillor Pleader and Monic pal Councillor Pleader and Monic pal Councillor Pleader and Monic pal Councillor Pleader and Monic pal Councillor Pleader and Monic pal Councillor Pleader and Monic pal Councillor Pleader and Monic pal Councillor Pleader and Contract Pleader Ple	259	,,,			" Sadarasan kram An	am Cha- sangar	do	Jewel Merchant	
261 " " Lelgudi " Kanagasabata Hindu Mirasidar do palic Omenicillor pal Comencillor pal Comenc	260		\	, ,,	Four lague	lı Renga-	do	Mirasidar and Muni- cipal Councillor	
Trichi nopoly Tamanakeswara do lyer Tamanakeswara l			,,	,,,	, S Raman		do	Pleader and Munici pal Conneillor	
A Chidanbara Iyer Brahman Mirasidar and Contrac do value and Contrac do Value and Contrac tor for many formal do value and Contrac do Value and Contrac tor formal do value and Contrac do Value and Contrac tor formal do value and Contrac do Value and Contrac do Value and Contrac do Value and Contrac do Value and Contrac tor formal do value and Contrac do Value and Contrac do Value and Contrac do Value and Contrac do Value and Contrac do Value and Contrac do Value and Contrac do Value and Contrac do Value and Value and Contrac do				Lalgud	T Kan	ngasabas:	Hindu	Mirasidar, Kuhur .	1 fig. 1.1 am the 25th
264 " " A K Narayana do warmy Iyer, do Mirandar, Lalgudi do Asustant Professor of Science, S P G College Gollege Golle					, A Chida	mbara Iy	er _i Brahmin		i
Annay amy Iyer. do Mirasdar, Lalgudi do Assasant Frofessor Gozeta, S. P. G. Golden Gozeta, S. P. G. Golden Gozeta, S. P. G. Gozeta G			1	,	" A K	Naras apa	do	Values and Contrac	do
Trichi nopoly Wyssa Row, Ba do			1	1	1	amy Iye	do	Mırasdar, Lalgudi	Į.
T Sadasta Taw do Mercante Lumanabeswara do Mirasidai and Muni do Iyer T S Palabi Hinds Vakil, High Court do Vakil, High Court do Vakil, High Court do Sawany Pillay, Ba Nata Sawany Argengai, S. Kuppunawany do Nirandar, Sarangam do Sawany Argengai T R Kappu do Sawany Iyengar T R Kappu do Sawany Iyengar T R Kappu do Sawany Iyengar T R Kappu do Pleader Municipal Commissioner and Member, District Board T R Kappu do Sawany Iyengar T R Kappu do Pleader Municipal Commissioner and Member, District Board T R Kappu do Sawany Iyengar T R Kappu do Pleader Municipal Commissioner and Member, District Board T R Kappu do Pleader Municipal Commissioner and Nember, District Board T R Kappunawany do Pleader do Mirasidai and Municipal Commissioner and Nember, District Board T R Kappunawany do Pleader do do	-			Trich	, Vyasa F			of Science, S P	a, hold on the 4th
Umanaleswara do Miranda and allan	2	67	.	, "	" T Sad	asıra Ta	N- do		
T S Falan: Inda Vakil, High Court do	-	68	.,	,, ,,	" Uma	nabeswar	n do	Mirasidar and Mn cipal Councillor	
S R Renga Brahman (Landholder and Vakil do awany Ayreigat, p. p. 1. 271 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "		269	,,	,, ,,	, T S	Palan Pillay, I	I lind Velali		do
271 "S. Kuppunawmy do Val.1 High Court and Member. District 272 "S. Krehna- awany iyengar do Mirawdar and Mun- countries Mirawdar and Mirawdar and Mun- countries Mirawdar and Mirawdar and Mirawdar and Mirawdar and Mirawdar and Mir		270	" 1	, , ,	S R	y Aiyeug	a Brahm	B Landholder and Va	kil do
272 " " Krishna" do awanny Iyeegar " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "		271	,,	" "	g K	DODRERW	my l do	Member, Distr	
273 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "		272	,,	, ,	"S, F	k Krish ay lyenga	na. do		,
274 " T. R. Kuppu uo Garantssoner and Member, District Board Board do		273	. [- ·	" K	Vusn le		cipal Commission	
"R Kuppuawamy		274	,		, T. I	Kup my Iyeng		Commissioner - Member, Dis	and
		275	,	"	" R	Kuppuat ugar	amy d	Plender	do

Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Aames in full of Dele gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religions deno- mination and caste, if any	Occupation and . Address	How and when elected
276		Trichino poly	Trichino poly	Mr K Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar	Brahmın	Mirasidar	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1894
277	19	**		" L S Ramaehan dra Iyer, E A , B L	do	Vakil, High Court and Member, Dis tract Board	do
278	.,			, P G Sundaresa Shastmar, p a	do	Manager, National High School	do
279	"		"	V A Tirunara yana Acheri, B &	đo	Vakil, High Court .	do
280	"	,,	,,	, R U P VenLa tesa Row	do	Msrasidar, Persour	ob.
281		"	,,	, M S Anantha ratnam Iyer	do	Mirasidar and Hono- rable Magistrate	do
282	, "	,	, ,	" Chellappa Chettiar	Hundu	Valid and Municipal Councillor	đo
283	, ,,	,,	.,	" Talagaram Tawker	Brahmin	Merchant .	đo
294	,,	,,	,	" T V Sanjeeva Rao	đo	Pleader ,,	đo
285		,	,	" P Olagappa Pillai	Hindu Sudra	Proprietor of the Southern Star Press	οfs,
286	,	, ,,	Knhtalar	"R V Renga Row	đo	Mirasidar, Vice President, Taluq Board and Member, Dis- trict Board	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894
287	,,	,,		, M S Narayana swamy Iyer	Brahmin	Pleader, Chairman, Union, Member, Taling and District Boards and Devas than Committee	đo
288		,	,	"P T Renga	do	Pleader and Mirasidar	do
289	-	"		" V V Narayana swamy Iyer	do	Pleader	do
290				"M K Rama swamy Iyer	do	Pleader and Virasidar	đơ
291				Swamy Iyer,	l do	Pleader	do
292			12	" h T Chandra selara Row	do	Pleader and Mirasidar	đo
293			,,	"P T Varada Iyengar	фo	oh	đo
294			,,	"M. W Venkat	do	Pleader, Mirasidar and Member, Pun- chayet	ďσ
293	s .		,	" V K. Seshatayee	* do	Mirasidar	10
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>)		1	1 1	

How and when elected
By a Public Meeting held on the 1st December 1894
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Do, also by the Hindii Progressive Union
By a Public Meeting held on the 1st December 1891
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Number	Prosidency or Government	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno- mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
315	Madras	Comba- tore	Comba tore	Mr C M. Padmanabha Chariar, B.A., B.L	Brihmin	Walil, High Conre	By a Public Meeting held on the 1st December 1894
316	,,	" ,	,	" M Sambandha Mndhar, ra	Hındu	Landholder and Mer chant	do
317	,,	,,	,,	" Vittaldas Sait	đo	Merchant, Tiruppur	do
318	,,	, ,	,,	, A T Thurnvencata swamy Modliar	Sudra	Ablam Contractor	do
319	"	,,	٠,	, V R Krishpa lyer,	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court	do
320	,,	,,	"	,, G Kasturi Iyeogar	đo	Assistant Master, Col. lege	do
321	,,	,,	**	, K Chavadappies,	ďσ	do	do
322	,,	,	"	"S Kadar Khan	Masalman	Merchant and Land- holder, Udamalpett	do
323	,,		Erade	, M Govinda Row	Brahmm	Pleader, Erode	đo
324	,,	, ,	,,	" G Kasthuri Airen-	đo	Assistant Master	do
325	,,	,,	Karathur	"V Krishmer .	do	Landholder	đo
326		,,	,,	"Eswara Iyer	đo	Editor, Haladam Am	do
327	,,	,,	Dhara puram	"D Alagurisawmy Naidu	Hındn Sudra	Sowlar and Landed Proprietor	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894
328	17	,,	,,	" R Ramachandra Nasda	do	Landholder	do
329	, ,	,,	Kanyar,	"N V Desika eboriar, n a , e L.	Brahmın	Vakit, High Court, Coumbatore	By the Amravatha Mahajana Sabha on the 28th October 1894
330	,,	1	12	" V S Ramaswamy Shastriat	đo	Pleader	đo
331	"	1 .	"	" N C Narasumha Charist, E a , B,L	do	Val.d, District Court	do
332	,,	i b	,,	" C Nageswarrer	do	Pleade:	do
333	,,	,	"	" K N Venkata raman Iyer	do	Scoretary, Mahajana Sabha	do
334	,	,	,,	" C K Vencata gırı Shastrı	do	Landlord .	do
333		,,	,,	" C Krishmer	do	do	do
336	. "	, "	"	" C N Ramaswamy Iyer	do	do	do
					<u> </u>		

Flectoral Division Titles, Scholastic Race, Reh group Grant Titles, Scholastic Race, Reh group Titles, Scholastic Race, Reh group Trunation,

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Number	Presidency of Government	Congress Circle	Flec Divi	toral	gates, wit	full of Dele- th Honorary Scholastic ees, etc	Race, Rel gions den- mination and caste if any) (Occupation and Address	How and when elected
337	Madras	Comba tore	Kai	nyur	Mr C S	S Anantha hniei	Brahmu	La	ndlord	By a Public Meeting held on the 11th November 1894
				ì	" S	Visyanathier	do		do	do
338	"	"	'	,	. s	Balakrishna	do	Ba	inker	do
339				"	Sba.	Ramaswamy	do	Le	andlord	do
341	,,	,,			" Iyer	8 Srioivasa	do	v	akıl	By a Poblic Meeting held on the 26th November 1894
342		1.			\	Ramakrishna istri	do	71	Irsaidar	do
343		1 .			" S	S Sivienam	do	1	do	do
34	1		, Udamal pet			istria r Srinavasa I)	do	P	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 11th November 1894
-34	5 ,	,		,,	, T	S Rama	do		do	do
.34	10 ,,	١.	. :	Karar	J T	R Rams andra Işer	do		do	By a Public Meeting held on the lat December 1894
3	57	. .	, F	Kollegel	" R	S Naraya	na do		do	By a Public Meeting held on the 6th December 1894
3	18 ,	, ,		Bbavan	, , c	Venkatareo hetty	ga Vysj		Landlord	By a Public Meeting held on the lat December 1894
;	349	South Arcot		Tindi vanam	,	PS Veola	ta Brah	neun.	Pleader, Tindiyana:	n By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1891
	350	, 1	.	"		V Muthusaw Liyar	b car	•	do	do
	ا اداد	, 1	,	,	, 1	H Raghaven Iso	dra d	0	do	l go
	312	, ,		,		C Ramani	13a d	0	do	do
	353	,,	"	,,	" ,	T A Sub	ia- Hu Sn		do	do
	354	"	.,	,,	,,	T Soularan Jyer	ama Bra	min.	do	do
	355	,	,,	,	-	T K Veus	rata	lo	2nd Grade Pleade	
	356	,	,,	,,	-	Agaram Son Iyer	dara	do	1st Grade Pleader Assistant Pub Prosecutor	and do

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Namber	Presidency or Government	Congress Curcle	Electoral Division	Names in fall of Dele gates with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees etc.	Race, Religious deno- mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when, elected
357	Madras	South Arcot	Tindira nam	Mr P Narasımlı Charı	Brihmin	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1891
358	,	,,	Caddalore	"Thirnvenkata Chariar	do	lst Grade Pleader and Municipal Council for	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1891
359	, ,	,,		, Lakshminarayana Reddiar	Hindu Sudra	Landholder, Kulla puttam	đo
360	"	"		" P Sama Ran Gara	Brahmin	1st Grade Pleader and Municipal Council for, Thirupapuliyar	đo
361	,,	"	"	, S Rajagopala Chari, Bi, RL	đo	Pleader	do .
362	,,	,	ì "	, R Sumress lyen	do	do	do
363	"	,	,,	,, A Ragbava Charı ar	đo	Landhoider	do
364	, ,,	я		" V Krishnamurthy Row	do	Pleader	do
365	["	,,	, ,	" M Appaji Reddiar	Hındu	Landholder "	do
366	,,	,,	"	" P S Aromogba Pillar	đo	Assistant, Messrs Joseph & Sons	do
367	,,	"	**	"S Subramanya Reddiar, BA, BL	do	Vakil, High Court	do
368	, ,	"	•	,, T Subbraya Chet- tier	do	Merchant ,	do
369	,,	,		" A Rama flow	Brabmin	Pleader	do
370	,	-]	" N S Natesa Iyer, RA, a l	do	1st Grs le Pleader	do
371	,,	i	,	, C Subramaniah	do	Mirasidar	do
772	-		,	"S Lakshminara simba Iyer	do	Landholder	do
373	,			S. Angappa Chetty	l ysyx	Merchant	do
374	-	,	Villapa ram	" K. A Ramanuja Chari	Brahmın	Plender	By a Public Meeting held on the 20th November 1894
37	, (**	1	" T Sankara Aizar	do	do	do
370	-	,,	1	" Arunschella Vul	Hindu Velala	Headmaster, Hindu Primary School	By a Public Meeting field on the 11th November 1-94
377	, , ,		Cl idambe ram	. M C Ramaswams	Hrahmin.	Mirasidar Pleader, and Municipal Coon tillor	By a Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1994
378	,,	-	· -	,, 1. N Desika Cha	do	Pleader and Land)	ďο

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Number	Presidency or	Josephine	Curele	Electoral Division	gates	, with les, S	all of Dele Hunorary cholastic es, etc	mi	e, Reli- is devo- puting, l caste,		Addres	15.	Ho	w and when elected
	Madr	as S		Chidam- baram	Mr. A	Rer	gast amy		Imdn Jelala	Mira	sidar and	l Pleader		Public Meeting l on the 5th ember 1894
380	, ,,		,,	,,	, T	illaa Pillaa	Naya57m		do	Mice	ısıdar			do
331	,,	.	.	,,	1 ,, N	agabb Pillai	manaden		dn		dо		1	do
×00		-	- 1	,	1 E	նորթո	Pillai .	-	do		do	•••		do
,82 383	,	,	"	,	1. 1		thusawmy	1	do	Mer	cliant		1	do .
		1	ł				ada Chari	r R	rahmin	Pic	ader and	Mirasida	r,	do
384 385		,	"	,	1.5		Jaganath		do	Lar	adbolder aster	& School	-	do
386		,		"		v. s	waminatha alabha, B &		dn	M	laster Par	nd Head chluappa hool and Councille		do
	1	- 1		1	1	v De	sika Charn		do	Ple	ader		.	đo
388	- 1	"	"	"	1		lenga-awm	- 1	do		eader au lar	d Mirasi		đn
				1	1	-	pa Rao		do	Lo	ndlord		. 1	do
39		"	"	Nelliku	p. Mo	y.nd o Sahi	leen ibrab	ım-	Masalmar	M	erchant	,	•	du
39	21	,	,	Porto No	vo 311		Thetha M	ud	Handu Sudra		do			do
85	92	,,	,	Tirukoi	lur ,,	c s	Naraya my lyer	an.	Brihma	P	leader			do
3	93	11		Thiras			ankara Iye	-	do	1	do		-	do
3	194	,,	Malab	dipur Palgha	- 1	, Р 8	Sesha Iy	er	dn	V	nkd Hış	th Court	l h	a Public Meeting eld on the 25th Invember 1894
:	395	,,	,	,		, к	P Achyv Menou	tha	Hındu Nair	i t	st Grad and Hono rate Mun allor, Pal	rary Mag	r18-	do
	396	,,	,,	,,		" s	Vıraragh İyer	B10	Brahmi	ın 1	Landed P	roprietor		do
	397	,,		, ,,	١		Govinda M	enon	Hinds		2nd Gre Ottapat	de Plea am	der	đo
	398					"т	L Vıraraş Pathar	bava	Brahna	ın '	Proprie	and Lan tor and Mouncillor	ded	đo
	399	٠.		.		Hon (C Sankara EA, BL	Nau	Hind Nar			igh Court r, Madras e Council		do
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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Delegates with Honorary Triles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno- mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
400	Madras	Malabar	Palghant	Mr P S Chinnaswamy Pillai	Velala	Landholder, Member, District Board and Chairman, Municipal Council	held on the 25th
401	n	n	21	P A Rameswamy Iyer	Brahmın	Landholder and Plead er	do
402	,	,,	,,	, Kunnathal Madam pil Raman Unm Muppil Nair of Manargul	Hindu Nair	Lundlord	ďο
403				Dr A i heyzumn Menon	do	Medical Practitioner	do
404	**	"	, ",	Mr V .P Venkata Chariar	1	Pleader and Municipal Councillor	
405	,,	"	,	,, T R Vuraragha vam Pattar	do	Landlord and Mer	do
406	, ,,	,,	,	,, V Raman Nair,	Hındu Nair	Valil, High Court ,	đo
407	,,	,,	,	"V Venga Iyer	Brahmın	Pleader	do
408	"	,,	Calicut	, K U Narayana Menor	Hinds Nair	Editor, Melabar and Travancore Speciator	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894
409	,,	,,		"P C Amman Rays	do	Landford and Member of the Zamorie e Family at Calicut	
410	,,	,,	,,	, C Sankurri Menon	do	Assistant Secretary Kerala Mahajana Sabha	đo
411		1,		, K Ramanurri Nasi	do	Landlord	do
412	,,	78,	,	, K C Manavikra man Raja	Hindu Samantha	Landlord and Member Zamoria s Family Secretary, Karala Vahajana Sabha	đo
413	,		,,	" Chantbroth Valia	Hindu Naur	Landlord and Member, District Board	do
414	,,	,,	,,	" P A Krishus Menon	do	1st Grade Pleader and Municipal Councillor	đo
415	, ,	,,	,,	" K R Subramana Shastra	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court	, do
416		,	,,	" R Devaraja Iyer	-	Assistant Waster, High School	
417	"	,,	, "	,, L R Subramani		Merchant	do
418	3 ,,	, ,	,,	, M Krishna Naur,	Handu Nair	Vakil, High Court	do
41	9 ,,	,,	,,	, N. Subramani Iyer	a Brahmu	Pleader and Municipal Councillor	do

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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	oper D	lectoral hyranon	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary	Race, Reli nous deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
379	Madras	1	th C	hidam baram	Mr A Rengaswamy	Hındu Velala	Mirasidar and Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1894
380	,,			,,	" Tillai Nayagum Pillai	do	Micasidar	do
381			\		" Nagabhushanam Pillai	do	do	do
	į		1	,	"Kuppu Pillas	do	do	do
,82 383	"			.,	, li Mathasaway	de	Merchant	do.
	Ì		l		I., K Varada Charar	Brahmin	Pleader and Mirasida	r do
384	1		"	,	"T H Jaganatha	do	Landbolder & School master	do
380	, ,		"	**	, V Swaminatha Jetaralabba, BA	do	Mirasidar and Head Master Pachbiappa Bigh School and Municipal Councille	î
		-	1		V Desika Chariar	do	Pleader .	do
38	1 '	ı	"	"	, C Rengasaway	do	Pleader and Miras	. do
					"B Appa Rao	do	Landlord .	do
38	W.	1	"	Nellika	- 11 Danker	a j Musalmai	Merchant .	. do
3	1	.	,	pam Porto No	To Mr T A Thetha Mu	d Hundu Sudra	do	qо
3	92	,,		Tirnkoil		Brahmin	Pleader	do
9	93			Thirax	m , T Sankara Iyer	do	do	do
;	394		Malaba		- C C-la Tres	đo	Vakil High Court	By a Public Meetis held on the 25 'November 1894
	395		,	,,	., K P Achyut Menon	Hindu Nair	lst Grade Pleas and Honorary Mag trata Municipal Co- cillor, Palghat	213
	396	,,	,,		, S Vıraraghav	Brahm	Landed Proprietor	do
	397	,	٠.		, K Govanda Mer	ion Hinds		
	398		,,	1 .	, T L Viraragh	ava Brahm	Banker and Lau Proprietor and M *cipal Councillor	ided do
	399	**	,,		Hon C Sankara P	air, Hind Nair		Le

Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele gates with Honorary Titles Scholastic Degrees, etc.		Occupation and	How and when elected
439	Madras	Tinne velly	Amba- samudram	Mr SundaraKarayalan Pillai	Sudra	Landlord	By a Public Meeting held on the 22nd November 1891
410	"	"	,	Devanayagam Pil	Velala	Contractor	do
441	,,	"	Tinne velly	, S Kalyanaruma Iyer	Brahmın	Valil, High Court and Laudholder	do
442	,,	,		"K R Gornawamy Iyer, Ex, Es	do	Landholder & Pleader	đo
443	,,	,	,	, T R Sulechanam Mudhar	Hinda	Landlord Vennarpet	do
444	,,	,		"PN Venkatacha la Iger, 8 4	Beshmin	Pleader and Land holder, Member, Ta inq Board	đo
445	,,	"]]	, 8 Palamandı Mud lıar	Velala	Pleader and Municipal Councillor	do
446	"	,,	,,	" V M SvedRowther	Masalman	Merchant and Director, Cotton Factory	đo
417	,,	,,	,	" V Chinnasawmy	Brahmin	Vakil	đo
448	,,	"	,,	"V Sabbasawmy Iyer	i đo	ito	. do
419	,	,	1	K G Krishmasawmy Iyer	đo i	Pleader	đo
150	1		,	, T K Thiramalay appa Pillai	' IImda L	Inndholder Merchant and Temple Trustee	đo
451	"	"	, ,,	"TS Subramania Pillas	Velala	Landholder & Plender	do
452	"	"		P W Kastasam Pillas	do	Landbolder Pleuder and Secretary, Hindu College Committee	do
453	, ,,	ļ	,	" S Varadaraper	Brahmen	Vakil .	do
454				" \ R Krishmer	do	Vakil and Landholder	do
455	ı		•	" P Vashukomara sawmy Pillas	Velala	Mittadar	do
456		1		G Ramsbadner	Brahmin	Valid and Landford	do
457			•	, Kanthimathinatha	Velala.	Mittadar and Devas thanam Trustee	do
453				"A V Thrumsis yəppa Pallas	llindo Sudru	Member, Derasthanam Committee	do
459	,	1		"K Raghumatha lyer	Brahmen	Zemindar, Pathur	do
460	"	-		" C R Kanthumathi natha Pillai	Handa Velala	Mittadaran I Ist Grade Pleader	d.,

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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	e Ei	lectoral (vision	gate	nes in full of Dele- es, with Honorary litles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
420	Madra		har (Calicut	Mr i	S Kadrı Kutty Keşı	Masulman	Landholder	By a Public Meeting beld on the 3rd December 1894
421	,,			1'	,, :	M. Gopala Menon	Huida Nair	Vakil, High Court	do
422	۱.,			,,	,,	C M Rarieban	Hındu Tıcr	Landholder .	do
423	,,			,,	**	C. Karunakara Menun	Hındu Naic	Assistant Manager, The Hindu	do
424	١,		\	,	,	C Admarayana Nair	do	Pleader	do
425		• 1		"	17	K R Ramaswam Iyer	Brahmin	do	By a Public Meeting of the Kerala Ma- hajan Sabin on the 3rd December 1894
426				Cannanore	,	C Kuntri Kannai Vaidhya	Hinds	Dewan to H H Sulta Alı, Rajah of Canan nore	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th November 1894
42	,		,	"	,,	V Kuntri Raman Nair	do	Landlord and Membe District Board	r, do
42	8		/	Cellicherry	/ "	T S Narayans Kurup, BA, BL	Hundn Naur	Vald, High Courts Municipal Councill	by a Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1894
42	19	,,	,	,,	,,	M Gopula Meno	ob do	Pleader	do
43	30	.		"	"	P K Kelappi Kurup, Ba, BL	do d	Vakul, High Court	do
4	31		,,	Mangalor	·e .	, C Krishna Batt	Beabmin	do	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894
4	32		Tiune- velly	Ambs- samudrar		" Sadhu Ramasu bier -	do do	General Secretar Mahajana Sabh Ambasamudram	
	433					" T V Lakshma Iyengar	na! -do	Pleader and Secreta Mahajana Sabb Ambasamudram	
	431	\				, R Subber	do	do	do
	435	Ϊ,	,,	,,		" H T Subbasa Iyer	mı do	do	j do
	436	. '	,	,,,	١	" A S Rama Subl	ner do	Landbolder	do
	437	,		,		" Thenatha P Nalla Kutti S S n b r a m a r Thever	uly Hinds Siva Sudra	Zemindar, Singapa	ttı do
	438	**	,,	,		"Sankaraanbbial iyer	Brabm	Landlord & Verch	ant By a Public Meeting held on the 22nd November 1894

Namber	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele gates, with Hummary Titles Schulastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno mination and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
439	Madras	Tinne velly	Amba- samudram	Mr SundaraKarayalam Pillai	Sudra	Landlord	By a Public Meeting held on the 22nd November 1894
440	,	,,	,	Devanayagam Pil	Velala	Contractor	ďo
441	,,	.,	Tinne velly	, S Kalyanarama Iyer	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court and Laudholder	do
442	,	,,	,	"KR Guruswamy Iyer, Da, BE	do	Landholder & Pleader	đo
443	,,	,	,	,, T R Sulochanam Mudhar	Hindn	Landlord Vennarpet	do
111	,,	,		" P N Venkatacha la Iyer, B A	Brahma	Pleader and Land holder, Member, Ta luq Board	do
445	,,	,	, ,	" S Priamandi Mad	Velala	Pleader and Municipal Councillor	đo
146	,,	,,	,,	" V M SvedRowther	Masalman	Merchant and Direc- tor, Cotton Factory	do
417	,,	"	,	" V Chinnasawmy Iyer	Brahmın	Vakıl	do
448	,	,	,,	"V Subbasawmy	do	do	đo
449	,	,	,	"K G Krishnasawmy Lyer	dz	Pleader .	do
450	,,	,,	, ,,	" T K Thirumalay	Hada	Landholder, Merchant and Temple Trustee	do
451		"	, "	"TS Sabramama Pillas	Velala	Landholder & Pleader	đo
452	"	,,	"	Pillsi	do	Landholder Pleader and Secretary, Bindu College Committee	do
453			,	" S Varadaraner	Brahmın	Vakai	dο
454			,	" A. R Krishmer	dn	Vakil and Landholder	do
455	1	77	ι	" P Muthokumara sawmy Pillai	Velala	Mittadar	do
456		,		" G Ramabadrier	Brahmin	Valil and Landlord	do
457	,	}	, "	"Kanthimathinatha Pillai	Velala.	Mittadar and Devas thanum Trustee	do
458	,,		,	,, A \ Thirumala	Hıuda Sudra	Member, Devasthanam Committee	do
459		-	,	"K Ragbonatha Iyer	Brahmun	Zemandar, Puthur	do
460	,,	,,	,,	, C R Kanthumathi natha Pillai	Handu Velala	Vittadar and 1st Grade Pleader	do

ı Electoral Division Titles Scholast c Degrees etc If any

Number	Pres denoy or Government		Electoral Division	Names in full of I gates with Honor Titles Scholast Degrees ste	c and	deno	Occupation and address	How and when elected
461	Madras	Tipne velly	T nne velly	Mr J T Srn vas Pllm		ndn elala	Vakil Hgh Court Palameotial	By a Publ c Meet ng held on the 22nd November 1894
462			Gopala samudrum	G R Sankar	er Bra	l mm	Head Master H L S School Gopalasamu dram	By a Publ c Meeting held on the 28th November 1894
463			Srivai kuutham	k V Srmi lyer Averga	Lasa	do	Landholder & Pleader	By a Publ c Meet ng held on the 2'nd November 1894
464				P Joseph l	Nadar S	ndra	Pleader & I andholder	By a Publ c Meeting- held on the drd December 1894
465		1		S Ponnaiah	Nadar F	Imda	Pres dent Kayalp Sal Company	
466	3		V irudn pati	, G P S Sha		Isadu Sudra	Merchant	By a Puhl c Meet ng held on the 17th November 1894
46	7	1		S P Poor	mappn	đo	đo	đo
46	8 "			K S Mani	kkava ar	do	Head Muster H nd Middle School	do do
46	19		Srivilli putur			Irabm n	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November 1894
				S Raghav	engar	do	do	đo
	70 ,		1	K A Go	pala astriar	do	Inamdar of Chett kolam	1 do _
4	72		Satus			Hındn	Agent Sabhapat Mudlar & Co	held on the 17th November 1894
4	173	Made	ıra S vagu	nga SRSC baram Ch	Ch dam etty	H ndu Sadrı	Merchant Stagun	By a Public Meeting lell on the 9th December 1894
	474	ì		M. G. Go Varada I		Brahmı	1 leader & Landhold	ler do
	470		,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	Mahamu	Sundara	H ndu	Sub d is on Zem dar Savagung Member Un on a Landlord—Roy Family	nd
	476			S M I	Sarayana Iyer BA	Brahm	n Head Master Ra H gh School Si ganga	gra do va
	477			K V Su lyer B	ibraman a	do	Pleader Swagung	ļ
	4-8			PSAn	antha Na Shastriar	do	do	do
	479				unaswamy	đo	Merchant	do

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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Del gates, with Honorar Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Regions der mination and cast if any	Ocenpation and	How and when elected
480	Madras	Madura	Sivagunga	Mr P Anantha Nara yana Iyer	Brahmi	Pleader	By a Public Meeting beld on the 9th December 1894
481	,,	,,		"PS Ramaswamy Iyer	do	do	do ,
482	"	,	,	, P S Harı Harı İyer	do	do .	
483	,	,,		, V Vasvanathier	do	do	do
484	,,	"	,	, B Narayana swamy Iyer	do	Teacher	1
485	,,	,,	n	, A K Subbaramier	đo	School Master	do
486	"	,	Mana Madura,	"U G Sanlara Na rayana Aiyar	do	2ud Grade Pleader Mana Madura	By a Public Meeting held on the 16th December 1894
487	,,	"	Madura	,, P N Muthnswamy Iyer, B 1 , B L	do	Valil, High Court	By a Public Meeting held on the 17th November 1894
488	12	,,	,	" P Narayana Iyer	đo	Vakil, Righ Court Member District and Taluq Boards	
489	,,	"	,,	, M Vencataramier,	đo	Member, Taluq Board Editor, Madura Mail	do
490	,,	,,	,,	, V Bhashyachariar	^- do	Vakil, High Court	do
491	"	"	,	" G Srinivasa Row	do	Ist Grade Pleader and Landholder	do
492	,,	"	,	, P S Subramania	do	Pleader .	do
493	"	"		"TR Seshier	đo	do	đo
494	"	19		M Madhn Iyer,	đo	Vakil High Court	do
495	"	"	"	" G Snhbara jul n Naidu	Hındu Sudra	Landholder, Sowcar, and Municipal Coun cillor	By a Public Meeting held on the 23rd September 1894
496	,	"	"	, V C Sriraman Chettyar	Vysya	Merchant and Manuer pal Conneillor	đo
497	,,	,,	,	" C K Veeraswamy Naidn	Velala	Proprietor, Soap	do
498	"	,,	,,	,, Alla Scetharamier	Brahmin	Merchant and Munici pal Conneillor	do
499	"	,	,,	" K Ramiah Bhaga Nathar	do	Merchant	do
500	,,	,	,	" V S Krishnaswa my Iyer	do	do	do
501	"	,,	,,	, R Mathuswamy Pillai	Sndra	Pleader and Munici pal Councillor	do

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Number	Presidency or Government		Congress	Elect Divi	toral g	ames in full of Dele-	lece, Reli- nous deno- mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and wben elected
502	Madra	1	Madura	Mae	dura N	ir I, S Sabramann Iyer	Brahmın	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 23rd September 1894
		1		1	.	,, P Sankarasubbiar	ďο	đo	do
503 504	,,	١	,,		"	" D Saundra Rapen gar	do	Ão.	do
505	.		,,	1	,	" Perianna Nadar	Sudra	Merchant & Member.	do /
500		1			., \	, M Nagalingam Pillu	Velsla	Pleader	do
507	, ,	1		1	, 1	" Seshadra Aiyengar	Brabmin	Sub divisional Zemii dar, Thiruthervalai	do
50	1		,		,	"C Smarvasa Iyer,	do	Vakil, High Court ,	do
50					,	"V Narayanaswa my Iyer	do	Mirnsidar	, do
51	10	,,			,1	"K M Ramaswam;	do	Plender	do
_			X.			, N M Sundarame	r do	Merchant	do
	11	"			,	" M K Sankaranar yana Iyer		go	do
5	13	11	\		,	, L K Tholast Ro	w, do	Editor, Janamanora	n do
	514	,	1			, S Krishnaswam	do	Merchant	do
	515	11	1		,	" M V Sabramanı	er do	Manager Made	ra đo
	516	,,	1	1	,	, K Krishnaswan Naidu	Hindu	Editor Indian Ohn	nns do
	517	,	1		Uttama; layam	M T Thirumal	Hunde Velski	Mirasidar Uttama layam and Memb Taluq Board	
	1		1			, P Naramyer	Brahm	n Mirasidar	do
	\$18 519	,	-1	17	Solavan	1	do	1st Grade Pleader	do
	520	,	,	,	gam.	" V Komstehap Mudhar	Vela)	s Landholder	do
	-521		,,		Periyal lam		r Brahm	Pleader	By a Public Meetin held on the 17th December 1894
	-522			,	,	, S Muthuswa	my do	Landholder, Mem District and Ts Boards	ber, do

Number	Presidency or Government	Congress Carele,	Electoral Division	Names in full of Delo- gates with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno mination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
523	Madras	Medara.	Periyaku lam	Mr. J R Mnthnsaw my Iyer	Brahmın	Schoolmaster, Municipal Conneillor and Member, District and Taluq Boards	By a Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1894
524	11	,	Parama kndi	,, T V Kothanda Rama Iyengur	do	Pleader, Laudlord, and Member, Union	By a Public Meeting held on the 26th November 1894.
525	"	,	ę	"S Vendantham Iyengar	do	Pleader and Landlord	do
526	, ,	"	,	, S Venkstarama Iyengar	do .	do	do l
527	,	, ,		,, P. S. Santhana krishnam Pillai	Velala	Pleader	đo
528	,,	,	Dindigal	"TRajagopala Naidu	Hındu Vıshnavite	Picader Dindigul Municipal Councillor	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November 1894
529	,,	"	,,	, Sneharajanulu Naidn	do	Sowcar and Land holder	do
530	,,	,,	11	, N A Subbia Chettyar	Hundu Vysya	Sowcar and Merchant	đo
531	,,		,	" N Ramaswamy Chettyar	do	Sowcar and Money Lender	do
532	, ,	, ,	,	"R Venkatesa Naidu	Hındn Sadra	Landholder and Municipal Councillor	do
533	,		"	" L A Vengasawmy Iyer	Brahmin	Pleader	do
534	,,	,,	.,	" A R Sectharamier	do	db	gò
535	,	,,	"	, P R Narayana Shastriar	đo	Pleader and Muni espal Conneillor	đo
536	·	,,	,	"S Smuvasa lyer	do	Pleader	do
537	,,	,,,	•	" A S Parasura mier	do	Pleader and Honor ary Magistrate	do
538	33	,	Shoisvan dam	" Ponnambha Mnd ltar	Hındu Velalu	Landholder .	By a Public Meeting held on the Sth December 1894
539		Salem	Salem	" W Virasawmy Iyer	Brahma	Pleader, Salem	By a Public Meeting held on the 26th November IS94
540	, ,	,	,,	"E S Ramasamy Iyer, BA, BL,	do	Vakil, High Conrt	do
54	ι ,	,,	,	, S Ramasawmy Iyer, Bi, Bi	do	Pleader .	ďυ
54	2 ,	ļ "	, ,	" S Krishna Row	do	do	da
54	· ·		,,	" D A Balakrish-	do	Pleader and Mnns capal Councillor	do

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					(*****	٠,			_
Number	Presidency or Government	Congress Cucle	Electoral Division		mes in full of Dese- tes, with Honorary	Race, Religions deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected	_
1	Madras	Salem	Salem	Mr	C Venkataramier	Brahmın	Landholder	By a Public Meeti held on the 26 November 1894	ith
45	,,	٠ ,		,,	T Ramaswamy lyengar	do	Pleader and Lan holder, Namakal		
46	` "		,	r	S Srimvasa Iyen- gar, Ba	do	Picader, Salem	do	
47	,,	,,	,,	1	A. L. Arunacha-	Haudu Sudra	Banker /	By a Public Meet held on the December 1894	Sth
548	,	,	,	, ,,	U Vencata Row,	Brahmın	Pleader	do	
549	,	,	1 "		, C Viparaghava Charrar, B A	đo	Pleader and Mn cipal Conneillor	nı do	
550	,,	1	1		, V S Srinivasa Shastri, BA, LT	do	Schoolmaster	By a Public Meet held on the December 1694	9th
551	,		1		" M Rathamanahhi Chetty	Hindn Vysys	Mattadar	do	
552		,	1		, S M Mahama Sahib	Masalma	Merchant and Mr	nnı- do	
	1	1		-	, Chanda Mea Sahi	h do	Merchant	do	
553 551	. "	,,	1.	1	" D Seshegara lye		Pleader and Mem District Board	ber, do	
		1		1	" P Raja Row	. 1 do	Pleader	,, i do	
555 550		,	1		, R Shanmag	a Velala	Landlord and li chant	Mer do	
55	7 ,	١,			T Natasinga Ro	w Beahmu	Municipal Counci Shotriam Pensi	llor do oner	
55	i8 "	. .		,	" S. Kanaka Saht Mudhar, sa	van Velala	Mittadar	do	
		1			, C Varada Char	ar Brahmi	n Landholder	do ,	
55			"	",	, N Ramaawan		Pleader	, do	*
	,	"	1		"D B Narasier	оъ	do	do	
				"	"T Spbramar Iyer, sa, st.	do da	Vakil, High (Member Dist Board	Court do	
•	563	,	\	**	, C Venentachar	do do	Landlord and Me District Board	ember, By a Public Me held on the December 18	etin St
	1				" Abdul Karım S	abib Masalt	nan Priest	- do	_
	564	,,	n	77		. 1 40	do	do	

" Hassan Mian Gulam Sabih

do

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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Bace, Reli gions deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and	How and when elected
566	Madras	Salem	Salem	Mr Venkatachallapa thi Iyer	Brahmin	Merchant	By a Public Meeting held on the 8th
567	,,	,,	29	"C Vencataramaner	do	Vakil, High Court	December 1894 do
568	,,	"	,	,, T N Subrama Shastmar	do	2nd Grade Pleader and Landholder	do ,
569	,,	12	, ,	"V R Vencatara mana Iyer	đo	Landholder	đo
570	,,	17	ļ ,	" N Narasinga Row	do	do	do
571		"	,,	, V Kasturi Chetty	Handn Sudra	Pleader and Hoporar Magistrate	do
572	"	"	, ,	, Paramasıva Kann dar	do	Zemindar	do
573	,,	11	,,	,, Rangaya Kanadar	do	do	do
574	, ,	,,	.,	,, T Venkata Row	Brahmm	Pleader	do
575	21	31	,	, Venkatarama Red diar	Hındu Sudra	Zemudar	do
576		"	Namakal	"Doratswamy Red diar	đø	do .	By a Public Meeting held on the 9th December 1894
577	,	77	Therupa ther	" D Venkstarama nier	Brahmın	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894
578	,,	,,	,,	, B Venkatarama-	do	lst Grade Pleader .,.	do
579	, ,,	,,	,	"S A Venkatara manier	đo	Pleader	do
580	, ,	,,	,,	,, C Kəlayanasundar Nadar	Hinda	Mittadar and Member, Taluq Board	đo
581	, ,	"		,, T Gangadharam Pillai	Hudu Sudra	Pleader	do
582	,	n	"	,, C Ranganadar Mudhar	đo	Pleader and Municipal Councillor, Vice Pre sident, Taluq Board Member, District Board	đo ,
583	,	,,	,	, T M Lakshmana Iyer	Brahmın	Pleader	đo
584	,	, ,,	,,	,, R T Ramaswamy Iyer	đo	do	do
585	,"	19	Trichen gudi	, S Manika Mudliar	Hındn Sudra	2nd Grade Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894
586	,,	,,	Royarotah	" T. Mutbokrishna Mudhar	Velala	Mitta Zemindar, Sani tary President, Mem ber, Taluq Board	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894

Number.	Presidency or Government	Congress Circle	Electoral Division	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious deno mination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and	How and when elected.
\				j			1
°- 609 .	Madras	Chingle- put	Conjec- veram	Mr T. K. N. Srinivasa Chari	Brahmin	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 13th December 1894
610.	,,) "		,, C Raghava Chai.	do	do	do
-611	· ., i	٠,	,,	" C A. Krishnama	do	da .	da
612		٠,		"T. E Knmaraven- kata Chari	do	Pleader and Manicipal Conneillor	do
·613	, , , l	,,	,,	,, P. Ramachandra Shastra	do	Pleader	ı do
-614	,,	.,	,,	" M. K. Ram matha-	đo	Merchant	l do
-615	**			,, V S Varadaraja Mudlar	Velala	Merchant and Municipal Councillor	do
616		•		" A. Nagamia Chet-	Hiadn	Sowenr	do
617	,,		17	" N. Vencataragha-	Bestunin	2nd Grade Picater and Landlord	đo
ais	"	**	,,	" W. Sıvachidambara Mudlısır	Velsta	Merchant	do .
619	,,	¦ " i	,,	" A. Valayada Chetty	Vysya	Sowcar .	đo
620		"	Siravallar	" P. Sanjeeviah Garoo	Brahmin	Mirasidar and Mem- ber, Sembiam Union	By a Public Meeting held on the less December 1894.
621		.,	"	" V. P. Thirnvencata Chari	do	Pleader and Lund. holder	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1894
622	,,	٠,		" S. Raminb Chetty.	Vysya	Merchant	do
s).23			Perslar	" P. Parthasarathy Naidu	Velula	Mirasidar and Mem- ber, Taling and Dis- trict Boards	By a Public Meeting held on the 6th December 1994-
624		-	Sriperam	" Vencataraghava Reddiar	Hındu Sadrı	Mirasidar	By a Public Meeting held on the 13th December 1894
625			Chetram- nur	" C. Veduchalla Mud- lisr	do	do	By a Public Meeting held on the 21st December 1894
-626	,,	,	Kalattnr	" C. Ramabhagra Naidu	đo	do	चेंठ
4127	۱.		Trivallore	., A. Krishnama Chariar	Brahmin	Pleader and Shrotri-	
128	,	-	Madoranta. kam	" A. Krishnaveschary	dn	2nd Grade Pleader	do
		1	i		l		

Presidency or Government Titles, Scholastic and caste. Division Degrees, etc of any

Electoral

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629	Ma	dras	Chingle- put	Maduranta- kam	Mr A Seshadra Iyen gar	Brahmin	Mirasidar	By a Public Meeting held on the 23rd November 1891
630					" M P Rangacharı	do	do	do do
631		"	,	, ,	" M Vijiaraghava Chari	do	do .	do
632		,,	Čudda pah	Cuddapah	"C Chellarya Pillar,	Indian Christian	Vakil, High Court	By a Public Meetin held on the 25t October 1894
633		n	, ,	,,	Rai Bahadur C Jam bulungam Mudlar	Hındu Velala	do	do
631		n	,	,,	Mr Veukadarı Rangs	limda Vysys	Commission Agent and Landholder	do
63		,,	, ,	,,	, V llamaswamy Reddy	Sudra.	Landholder	dn
	J			,	Y Pappayya Chett	y Vysya	Merchant	do
63	1	"	"	"	" Krishnam Venkai	a Hindu		do

Sabbarya Chetty

Marti Vencata

"T Narayath Shaa!

.. R Giri Row, DA

M K Subba Row

O Lakahmana

G Gopulakriah

R Sesbagun Row

.. N Venkataramana

74 Sabapatl : Iyer

R. Madhava Row

P Andhinarayara

Row, BA

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Cloth Merchant

First Grade Pleader and Member, Punch

High School, Mada

Headmaster

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Pleader

Trader

Proprietor

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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress Orrole,	Electoral Division	Name in full of Dele gates, with Honorry Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc		Occupation and	How and when elected
650	Madras	Cndda pah.	Madana- palle	Mr M K Smuavasa fyer	Brabwin	First Assistant, Hig School	by a Public Meeting beld on the 2nd December 1894
651	,,	,,	Proddutur	"Paramahamsa Bala Subrawansa Ramasaamy	do	Hinds Priest	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th October 1894
652	, ,	,,	,,	, H Ranga Row Garu	do	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894
653	"	'n	,	, C S Srinivasa Iyer Garu	đo	do .	do
654	,,	,,	,,	" H Kuppu Row	do	do . ,	. do
655	,,	,	,	,, Y Venkatanara yana Reddy	Sudra	Landholder	do
656	,,	n	'n	" D. Narasiah Chetty Garu	Vysya-	Merchant and Sowcar	do
657	,,	,,	, ,	, A Ramacharlu	Brahmin	Pleader	do
658	,,		,,	"C Sundaracharlu	do	do	do /
659	,,	"	,,	"K Chinnakondiah Chetty	Vysya	Merchant .	do
660		11	, ,	" K Seshiah Chetty	do	do	do
663	,,	"	,,	" Parigi Barasaib Garu	Masalman	Merchant and Agent, Bellary Cotton Press	do
662	,,	11	"	"Gajyala Vencata Ramaşyer	Brahmın	Pleader	do
6E3	,,	"	, }	, J B H Venkoba	do	Pleader and Land- holder	ďο
664	"	,,	•	, V Narasinga Row,	do	Pleader	do
66a	,,]	,,	,,	" Y Nagayra Guru	đo	Pleader and Land holder	do
666	,	,,	" (, K Balasubhiah Chetty	Vyaya	Merchant and Sowcar	do
667	,	,,	Piler	, B Rangeyya Row	Brahmin	Mirasidar, Landlord, Chairman, Union	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th November 1891
668	,,	,,	Voyalpad	" Vohpalli Venkata Ramiah Chetty	Hındu Vysya	Landlord and Son-	By a Public Meeting held on the 20th November 1894
669	,]	,,	,,	, G Samba Row Garu	Mahratta Brahmu	Landholder	do
670		,,	٠,,	, S. V Narasumha	Brahmın	Pleader	do

1 res dency or Govern ent Congress T the Schulast C Distrator. and caste Degrees etc of any Nandalur Mr C V Seshanira Brahm v Pleader and Shotra Cudda Madras Row pah

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5	Cudda pah	Nandalur	Row		amdar
	į	1	V Srimivasa Chari	do	Pleader
			C Scal sh Shastre	da	lo
			C l' Guro Morty	do	1.
		1	C P Gn n Morty Shastra	du	Pleader I alder
			C Seal a Chall	da	Pleader

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B Venlata Row

Pantnin Gara RA

Ganjam Venkats

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D Seshagen Row

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650		P Pamnkailow	ao I	Ass tant Professor Rapis a College	do
		k Pera Raza	đo	Pleader	do
681 682	1	" D Subramanyam Garu	do	lo	ło
68.3		A Rama Murti Gara	dn	Mé zhant	do
681		D V Hannmantha Row Garu	do	Ir amdas	do
res	•	B Venkstaratusin Esru	1 73072	Merels & Mune pull Cou llor Member Districts and Talua Boards Chairmen Astive Clamber of Comme	dσ
680		P C Venkstarat	da	Merclant	do
687		, V Padmanabham	da	Merchant and Member Dat et Board	do
693		P Ramal ngesa Sarms	Brahm o	I les ler	do
	,	C S vavanarayat	Telegu Hada	Merclant	lo

Morts Vaidu Gara

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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele gates with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deco- mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
·691	Madras.	Godavan	Ellore	Mr T V. Smmsasa Iyer, n.	Brahmin	Schoolmaster, CM S High School	By a Poblic Meeting held on the 25th November 1894
692	,,	,,	,	" V Rama Row	do	Pleader	đa
693	"	"	,,	, K Raghunatha Chary	do	Inamdar	đo
469	.,	.,	"	,, S Sundararama Shastri	do	Pleader	đo
693	,		,,	"S B Sanlaram	do	до	do
696	"	11	,	" Sitaramayar	do	Lditor, Desopakars .	đø
t97	,,	,,		"A KanakaRaju, s	go.	Pleader	do
698	, ,		, ,	" G V Siva Row	ďο	do	do
609		-	, "	" Venkata Krushus Iyer	do	do "	do
700	,,	,,	,,	" U Lakshmana Das	Hinda	Landholder	do
701	,,,	"	١,	" M Sectopar Gara	đ٥	do	đo
702	,,		,	", W Gopalratnam	Vysya	Pleader	đo
703	, ,,	n	,,,	" P. Gopalam, B .	Hindu	do	do -
70\$,	"	Rajabmun	"N Krishna Bow Pan tulo Garu, r a	Brahmin	đo	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894
705	,,		,,	"S Bhimasankar Row	do l	do	do
706	, ,	,,	-	" R Krisbna Row	do	do .	ਰੌਨ
707	,,	,,	"	,, K Venkataramam Gara	do	Head Master, A E.	do
709	, ,	,	,	" Shree Raja K R V Krishna Row	do	Zemmdar of Pola	do
700	,,	,,	,	, Ramachandra Row Pantulu Garu y a u. t.	do	Vakil, High Court .	do
710)	-		"C. H Venkataram- ayar Garu	do	Picader	do
71	ı	11	-	"C Venkstachellum Garo, Fa. BL.	do	Vakil, High Court	17,
71	2 ,	-		" A San Iraramah Garn	do	Plea fer and Bonorary Magistrate	ito
71	3	-	,	Sambasiva Ros	do	Pleader .	do
71	4 ,,	-	, ,	"K Streeramulu Garu	do	d)	đo

Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Flectoral p	rames in full of Dele-inton rates with Honorary mil Titles Scholastic and	e, Reli s deno sation, caste, any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
	Madras	Codda- pah	Nandalur	Mr C V. Seshagira Bi	ahmın	Pleader and Shotri- amdar	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1894
		1		V. Smurasa Cham	do	Picader	do
672		1	"	"C Seshiah Shastra	do	do	d)
673	"	1:	\	, C P Gara Marty	do	1 11	ılo
674 675		1		C P Guru Morty	do	Pleater and Load	do
			1	Shastra C Scaha Challa	do	l'le iller	do
676 677	1	Goda very		B Venkata Row Pantula Garu, a a	do	Valit High Court and Member, Dis- trict Board	By a Public Meeting held on the 21s November 1894
67	8 .		1.	, Ganjam Venkata- ratnam Pantolu Garu	do	Pleader and Mem ber, District Board	do
67	, ,	,	, "	D Seahagiri Row Paatalu Garu, v.a s t.	do	Vakit High Court Momber District Board Secretar Rajah's College	et
6	150	١,	1,	" P Pamrikat Bow,	do	Assistant Professo Rajah's College	r do
	1			"K Pera Razu	do	Phader	do
	581	, 1	, , "	D Subramanyam	do	*to	1 10
•	682	•		Garu A Rama Murti	do	Merchant	do

A Rama Murti

D V Hanumantha

. B Venkataratnam

" P C Venkatarat

V Pa Imanabhara

T Knekeaswamy

Nardu Garu

"C S rayararayana Telegu Murii Naida bara Hirdu

" P Ramalingesa

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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religions deno- mination and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
-691	Madras.	Godavarı	Filore	Wr T V Smaresa	Brahmin	Schoolmaster, C M S High School	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November 1894
692	• •	,,	,	, V Rama Row	do	Pleader	do
693		,,	,,	"K Raghunatha Chary	do	Instuder	do
691	,,	,,	,,	, S Sundararama Shastri	do	Pleader	đo
697	,,	,,	,,	"S B Sankstram	dø	do	do
696	,,	,,	,	"Sitaramayar	do	Editor, Desopakari .	ďo
697	, ,,		,	" A KanakaRaju,s s	do	Plender	do
698	,,		,,,	" G V Siva Row	do	do	do
699	,	"	u	"Venkata Krishaa Iyer	do	do .,	da
700	,,	,,	**	" M Lakshmana Das	Hindu	Landholder	dø
701	,,	,		"M Sectajar Gara	đo	do	đo
702	,,	19		" W Gopalratnam	Vysya	Pleader	ನೆಂ
703	,,	۱,,	,,	, P Gopalam, Ba ,	Hinds	do	do
704	,,	,,	Rajahman	n N Krishna Row Pan tuln Garu, R a	Brahmu	da	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894
703	11	, ,	,	, S Blumasankar Row	do	do	đυ
706	,,) "	,	,, R Krishna Row	do	do	चेठ
707	,,	"	"	"K Venkstaratnam Garu	do	Head Master, A E L. M School	do
708	-			"Shree Raja K R V Krishna Row	do	Zemmdar of Pola	ala.
709	•	,	-	, Ramachandra Row Pantnin Garuna , n.s.	do	Vakil, High Court	do
710)¦ "	-	-	, C Il Venkatsrum- avar Gars	da	Plender	do
711	,	, "	"	" C Venkstachellum Garo, ra BL	do	Vakil, High Court	đ ₀
719	:	i -	, ,	" Snn Iraramish Garu	do	Plea for and Honorary Magnetrate	ıla
71.	3 -	-	-	Garo Garo	do	Pleader	A i
71-	•	-	,	"K. Streeramnin Garu	do	do	d's

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Number	Presidency or Government	Concress Circle	Flectoral Division	Names in full of Delegates with Honorary Litles Scholastic Digites etc	Race, Reh- kions deno- minalis is and caste if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
715	Madras	Goda	Pedds param	Mr M C Venkata raghava Ivengar	Brahmin	Plender .	By a l'abho Meeting held on the 1st December 1814
716	.	,,	•	C II Seshiah Gara	đ٠	d.	d d
717	'		•	A Venkataramiah Garu	d,	ď ,	do
718	•			. V Virsyya Garu	do	Inamdar, Agent to Ja gampet Zemindary	đo
719	,			Lakebmanapatla Shastre Gara	do	Schoolmaster	do
720				Namals Subt a Row Garu	æ	dla (
721			Narsapur	1 Subballow Pau Jula Caru	do	fnamd ir	Hy a Public Meeting held on the 27th October 1894
722			-	, M. Venkatalutchi Narasimha Charla Iraru	do	Mes ler	đo
723		,		, Oroganty Kantayya Guro, n a	do	do	ďο
721	"		Ifhima varam	, T Sambasara Row,	do	Inandar	By a Public Meeting held on the 14th October 1874
725	-	,	Tanuka	, K lilima Raza Gare	Kuhalterga	do	lly a Pul lic Meeting lield on the 2nd November 1894
721		٠.	(1 Contatuchellum	Brahma	l len les	do
727	}	,		l' bulda Ron Gara	do	Insudae Clairman I sudholders Associ ati n Alamur	do
729		,		1 Veukatachellum Garu	do	Pleader and Assistant Secretary People s Ass custion	нo
729	,,	Vizaga patam	1 iztu nagaram	J Spacensundern Row Pantulu Garu 8 A	-lo	J andl older	By a Public Meeting held on the 23rd November 1894
7 10	,			"N V Chellapatha Shasiri (varu	rlo	Asst Master Maha rajah s College and Secretary Meritants Association	do
731	-			ı "Р Suryanaruyana Shastra, ка	do	Schoolmaster	do
732	-			, P Kroalius Murts Pantulu Gara	do (Plea ler	da
733		,,,		" K. L. Narasımlıs Pautolu Garu	do	що	do

Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
7,34	Madras	Vizaga patam	Vizaga patam	Mi M Surya Nara yanu	Brabmin	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 1st December 1894
735	"	,,	,,	" H Ramadas Naidn	Telngu	Landlord	do
736	"	,,	,,	, D V Narasinga Ron, BA, BL	Brahmın	Pleader	do ,
737	"	,,	Parvatipur	T Lenkata Row Paptuln	do	đo	By a Public Meeting held on the 11th December 1894
738	n	"	, ,	Atı Appadu	do	Pleader, Member Dis- trict end Teluq Boards	do
739		,,	,	, Atı Krisbnaud Pantulu	do	Pleader	do
740	"	,,	,	O V Jagannadba Shastri	do	Pleader and Member, Tulnq and District Boards	đo
741		,,	Merangy.	, Banderu Surya Aerayanaswamter Pantulu	do	Pleade: and Lendhold er	By a Public Meeting beld on the 20th December 1894
749	"	"	Masph- petam	"V Abbirama Iyer, Ba, BL	do	First Grade Pleader	By a Public Maeting held on the 25th November 1894
748	,,	, ,	,	" II. Venkataratnam Naida, n s	Hundn Sudra,	Assistant Professor, Noble College	qo
744			, ,	, Venkataramah Pantulu	Brahmin	Landed Proprietor	do
745	,,,	,,	,	, Vemira Subba Row Pantulu, B A	do	Landholder Godngu pet	do
746	,,	,	ĺ	, K Seethapathi Ron, S A	do	dσ	do
747	,,	,		" V V S Avadham Garu	do	Pleader and Munici pal Councillor	oh
748	,	, ,	,	, \ Ramaswamy	do	Lecturer, Noble College	do
749	,	"		, Т Venkatapayya Garu	do	Pleader	ďo
750	,,	,,	, ,	,, T Nagabhushanam M ≜	da .	Landholder	do
751	"	,,	"	"P 1 Narasımba Charı, BA BE	do	Val.il, High Court	đο
752	,,	Kıstna	Bezvada	Eao Bshadur M Ethurajulu Pilleu Garu	Sudra Vashnava	Merchant and Landed Proprietor	By a Public Meeting held on the 27th October 1894.
753	,,		,,	Mr K Gangarazu Garu	Brahmın	Landholder	do

Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral gr División	ames in full of Dele ates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race Reli gious deno mination and caste, if any	Gecupation and Address	How and when elected
754	Madras	Kıstna	Bezvada R	ao Bahadur S. Lung ayya Pantulu Caru	Brahmin	Pleader, Landholder Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Chair	By a Public Meeting held on the 27th October 1894
	}		L.	frV Ramidas Pantulu	do	man Landbolder	do
755-	,	"	, N	Vmskota Kodanda	do	Pleader .	do
756		"		Ramsyys			do
757	i ,,,	٠,		, Vinnakota Lakahm Narasimham	ı do	Secretary, Vijiamandia Sabha]
		1	1 1	" M Aranachellasyas	do	Landholder	do
758 759		,	"	" T Venkatarama niah Paptulu Gar	do	Pleader and Land holder	do
760	,	,,	, ,	, M Venkateswar	1 .	Dewan, Senwarapet Fstato	do
		ļ	, i	, M Subbish	do	Pleader	do
76	1 ,	"	"	M Pranakusa Pill	aı Vysya	Landholder	, do
76 76	1	, "	,	" M Gajapathi Ro Pillai Gara	1	do	do
76		"	,,	, D Seshachellapat Row	he Brahmin	Editor, Kistna Neir Manierpal Councille Maoager, Tirovi Zeminduri, Assista Secretary, Vijivva Sabba	or.
7	65	.	,,	" Kosairaju Subbi Gart	ah do	Landholder	do
	66	, ¦ ,	Gunter	D	Vysya	Plender	By a Pablic Meeting held on the 26th November 1894
	767		, , ,	, P Venkata Red	dy do	Teacher A F M C	ol do
	718	1		"C V Sabrumai Shastri	nya Brahmi	n Pleader and Honors Vagistrate	do do
	769		, ,	, S Ramasawa	ny Vysya	Merchani	do
		.	,,	K Appeal Dike	ha Brahm	m I an lholder	do
	770		" Gantu	0.	abbs do iaru	Vakil, High Court Member, Madra Legislative Coun	and By a Public Meeting held on the 26th cil November 1894
	772	. 1	, ,	Mr V Bhavana Ch	arlu, do	Landholder, Chairn Municipality, I sident Pleaders' secration	nan do Pro- As
	773	•	, ,	"A VI Sun	adara do	Principal, Sansori Teachers'Associat Chairman, Taspay Association	ion

Number	Prosidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	gs	nes in full of Dele- ites with Honorary itles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religions deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
774	Madras	Kıstna	Guntur	Mr	K Lakshmuina- rasimha, B i	Brahme	Landbolder	By a Public Meeting held on the 26th November 1894
775	.		"	"	V Jayaramanyar	do	Ist Assistant, Sanscrit High School	do ,
776	n		Cherula	,,	Jagarln Mudi Naidu	Hındu Vysya	Merchant and I saded Proprietor	By a Public Meeting beld on the 17th November 1894
777		'n	n	,,,	J Pundareekash udu Naidu Garu	do	do	do
778	,,	,,	Gudivada	"	T Gopalakrishus Murty	Brahmın	Pleader and Land holder	By a Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1894
779	41	"	"	' "	P Anauda Row	đo	do	do
780	.,	n	٠,	,,	M Bhapi Razu	do	do	do
781		ь	,,		G Venkstarayudu	do	Pigader	- do
782		,,	"	,,	V Krishpa Row	do	Landholder and School Master	do
783	, ,	,,	"	,	T Purushotam Pantulu	đo	Pleader and Land holder	do do
784	,, '] "		,,	C Auvadurah	do	Landbolder	do
785	71	,,			R Parthasartha Iyer	do	da	do
786	"	, "	n		P Venkatachellum Garu	do	do	do
787		"	,	,,	Patri Vencata Subba Row	do	Laudholder, Secretary, Brahma Samaj, Bez vada	do
788	,,	,,		"	N Pullayya Garu,	Sudra	Ryot .	do
789		,	Narsaravu pet		V Seshavataram Garu	Vysya	Pleader and Secretary, People's Association	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894
790		, ,	,		U Anjanayalu Gatu	do	Pleader and Joint Secretary, Taluq Association	da
791	,	,,	77	,	M Szzramlu Garo	do	Merchant, Contractor Member, Union Pun- chayet and Medical Board	do
792			Bapatla	,,	C Venkatadra, E &	Brahma	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th November 1894
793	,,	Nellare	Venkatagırı	,,	Kuruwada Ragha viah Garu	do	Landholder, Secretary 1 H-L S School	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1894
_		<u> </u>	<u></u>	!				

Number	Presidency or Government	Congress Circle	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele- gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees sto	Race, Reli gious deno mination, and caste, if any.	Ocenpation and Address	How and when elected
794	Madras	Nellore	Kanıgırı	Mr A V Ramaniya Charlu	Brahmin	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 16th December 1894,
795	"	- 3	39	" M Vencata Subba Row	do,	do	do
796	,,			, M Vencatachella Mayya Garu	do.	do	do .
797	"	,	Nellore	" M Venkatasubba Chetty	Hındu Vysya	Merchant and Con fractor	By a Public Meeting held on the 1st December 1894
798	,,	"	"	D N Ventatara	Brahmin	Pleader and Manica pal Councillor	do
799	,,,		- "	" P Subbiah Chetty	Vysya	Merchant	do
800	,,	n	"	"T V Venkatara maier, B & , B L	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court, Government Pleader and Member, District Boards	do
801	,,	, ,	"	"V Venkatachallam Iyer, BA, BL	do	Pleader	qo
802	,	, ,	n	" Sugaram Subba Row Pantuln	do	Landowner	do
803	"	"		"B Balakrıstna Reddy	Hindu	Landholder	ďο
804	,	, !	,,	" D Venkatarama Reddy	đo	Zemudar	đo
802	"	,"	"	,, A Venkayya Pan- tulu	Brahmin	Vakul District Court and Municipal Coun cillor	đo
806	n	-	,,	, N Suryanarayana Row	do	do	do
807	-	-		"A R Arunachella Iyer, SA, BL	do	Pleader	do
808	,,	۱.,	-	, N Seshadei Izen gar, n 1	do	do	đo
809	-	,,,		" Sultan Mohideen Sahib	Masalman	Lundlord .	do
810	,,	1 "	,,	, P Balakrıshna Pıllaı	Hındn Vys y a	Contractor and Land ed Proprietor	do
811	"		Ongole	" C Lakshminara aimba Row Garu	Brahmn	Pleader and Manier- pal Councillor	By a Public Meeting held on the 13th November 1894-
818		, ,	-	,, K Manuara Krish na Row, E A	do	Pleader	do
813	, ,	,		., G Ramanadbaiya Gara	đo	do .	ďo '

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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Divisional	Names in full of Delo gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Bace, Religious deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
814	Madras	Nellore	Ongole	Mr D Markandush Sastri Garu	Brahmm	Municipal Conneillor and Member, District Board	By a Public Meeting held on the 13th November 1894
815	, ,	,,	,	., P Venkatarangsah Garu	do	Imndholder & Banker	do
816	,,	Ganjam	Chicacole	"B Viyanna Pan tnla Garu, BA	đo	Landholder, Pleader and Member, Taluq Board	By a Public Meeting held on the 22nd November 1894
817	,,	,	,,	" J. Ramaseshayyah Shastra	đo	Inamdar	đồ
818	,,	,,	•)	"K Ramaswamy Iyer, B a	đo	Assistant Master M H School	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th November 1894
819	,,	,,	,,	"Ippili Veukama Chetty	Hındu V y əya	Plender .	đo
820	,,	,	,	" V Guraviah Sastri	Brahmın	Pleader, Municipal Connuillor and Mem- ber, Taluq and Dis trict Boards	đo
821	,,	,,		"S Baupt Razu Pan tnin	do	Pleader, Secretary, Town Hall Commit tee	đo
822	,	,,	,,	" T Venkatasıva Row	do	Proprietor, Sowdam Estate, Municipal Councillor, Member, District and Talaq Boards	đo
823	,,	"	, ,	,, K Venkatanara erah Naidn	Hındn Vatehnava	Inamdar	đo
824	,,	,,	Sompet	" N Venkata Ranga dam Pantuln	do	Proprietor of Talasa- mndram Estate	By a Public Meeting held on the lat December 1894
825	,	"		"N Ramannjasawmj Pantulu Ba, at	Brahmın	Pleader	đo
826	,,	"		,, Gajana Kodanda Ramayya Garu	do	do	do
827		,,	Berhampu	" P Venkanns Pan thulu	do	Pleader and Munici- pal Commissioner	By a Public Meeting held on the 17th November 1894
828		,,	,,	"K S Kodsudara manyer, B A , B L	do	Pleader and Chair man Municipal Conneil	đo
829	,,	,,	,	" Maralia Venkata chellapattu Row Panthuln	do	Pleader, Landed Pro- prictor and Munici pal Councillor	ďο
830	, ,	,,	, ,	,, V Venkatajogayya Pantulu	do	Pleader	đo
83	ı "	,,	,	" P Venkateswarier Pantulu	do	do	Йo
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Number	Presidency	Нотегриевы	Curcle	Elect Divi	oral	gate T	es in full of Dele- s, with Houorary itles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, grous d minat and c	eno nou, aste,	G —	Address	and	How and when elected
832	Madr	٦	Ganjam	Berha	mpur	M.	Bycullı Raja Garu	Brah	min	Dew of	an to the Kallicota	Rajah	By a Public Meeting held on the 17th November 1894
						8	iadasıva Mısrı	d		Lan	dholder		do _
834 834	,,		"		"	" (Raghava Row Panthulu Garu, BI, BL	d	n	Vak an Co	d Muni duncillor	Court cipal	do
835	١.	,	١,,	Ga	njam		K S Rama Murta Panthulu Garu	d	n	Ass K	stant Te allicota Col	acher, lege	do
836		,	,,		arla imedi	"	Appanna Ponda	Bra	rya hmin	7	istant Iaharajah s chool	Master, High	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1894
837		11	,			,,	S S Raja Guru, Ba	'	lo	! P	tor to the rance of Cameda	Parla	do
838		"	, ,		13	,,	B K Dwipsyana Row	Ma Bra	idwa ihmin	Mr	nicipal Ch	sirman	do
839		n	,,		,	1,,	G Khadanga	Br	rya ahmin	La	ndholder		do
84	1	"	Anan		looty	T	he Rev Wilham Wilson Stephenso		ropean ristian	M	ssionary	٠	By a Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1894
84	1	,	1,	1	"	M	ir P Kassava Pill		lındu 'yeyn	1	eader and District Bo	ard	1
84	12	**			,,	8	Syed Shah Iehma Pir Hussin Sha yardiy'nl Kadri	el Ma	sealmat Syed	P	mest, La and Memb Board	ndholder er, Taluq	do
	43		1	.	**	1	Mr Jungmucota S	es. B	rahmır	L	andholder		do
	44	"		,,	**		" M Nagesa Row		đo	F	leader an holder	d Land	
	j		i i				, O Madha Row	.]	do	¦1	Pleader		do
	345	,	.	.	1		" M Subba Row		do	2	and Grade	Pleader	do
	846	1	1	"	"		, Chenna Busaya	nna L	angaye	st	Luudholder	and Ryc	do .
	848		,	"	• " Lnanta	pur	Garu , C N Muthus my lyer		Brahmı	n	Contractor cipal Cour	and Mun neillor	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1894
	849		,	,	**		" P Anathennetal	Row	dn		Pleader, I and Muni cillor	andhold cipalCou	er do
	850		,	, ,	,		"K Tımma Re	eddy	Sudr	8	Pleader a	nd Lan	1
	851		,,	**		,	"S Vedsjes Ro	w	Brahm	ın	Pleader, Councille ber, Dist	Municip rand Me rict Boar	m 1
-	,	-	1				١ ,	١					·

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Number.	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division		Race, Religious deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
8 2	Madras	Ananta pur	Penukonda	Mr S Seaha Shastri,	Brahmın	Pleader and Land holder	By a Public Meeting held on the 19th October 1894
853	<i>-</i>	,	,,	, V R Chakravartı İyengar	do	Pleader, Jaghirdar, Chairman, Temple Committee	do ,
854	, ,		Tadpatra	, M Lakahmina Nar asimba Shaatri Garu	do	Pleader and Shotri- amder	By a Public Meeting held on the 21st October 1894
855	',	Kurnool	Knrnool	,, T Chidambara Row, E a	do	Pleader, Landholder, Chairman, Minmei pality and Member, District and Taliq Boards and Temple Committee	By a Poblic Meeting held on the 3rd September 1894
856	,,	,	,,	" A Subba Row	ďο	Pleader	do
857		,	,,	" Allar Tiramal Row Garu	do	Pleader and Land- holder	By a Public Meeting held on the 23rd September 1894
858	,,	١,	,	" P Seshish Chetty	Vysya	Sowcar	do
859	,,	,	,,	" C Sobramania Ișer	Brahmin,	Piesder and Land- holder	do
860	,		,,,	" C. Kristappa	Vysya,	Merchant	do
861	,	Bellary	Beliary	" C S Subramania Iyer BA, BL	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court	By a Public Meeting held on the 28th November 1894
862			,	" Vitta Seshappa Chetty	Vysya	Secretary, Stock and Loan Transacting Company	do
863	,		,	,, M Ramanajulu Nasdn	do	Contractor	do
864	, ,,	١,	, ,	, Yadavendram Pilla	, do	đo	do
865	}		,,	" F Scshachella Row	Brahmin	Pleader	do
866	,	,	,	, C Krishtappa	Hinda	Merchant .	đo
867	,,	-	,,	M. Nagesa Row	Brahmm	Pleader and Land- holder	do '
868		,	,	, G Virahhadrappa Naidu	Laugute	Merchant and Pro prietor, Laquor Dis- tillery	do
869	,	1	,,	,, K Srinivasa Row,	Brahmın	Pleader	do .
870	,	,	"′	" D Gopala Charln	do	do	do
871		١,	,,	" W. H Ranga Row	ďо	do	đo
873	,	,,	, ,,	" D Venkutskrishna ma Charlu	do	Inamdar	do

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Number	Presidency on Government	Congre		ectoral vision	rrate	s in full of Dete	ace, Reli ious deno nination, ind caste, if any.		cupation and Address	How and when elected By a Public Meeting
873	Madra	Bella	ry' I	Bellary	Mr	W Krishnama Charlo	Brahmm	Plea	đer	held on the 28th November 1894
874	,"			,	,, 1	r Parasbotama Row	do	đo		do do
		1			,, 6	Seetharam Chetty	Vysya		ara Contractor .	
870	"	١,	i	,,		B Streemvasa Row	Brahmm	Mer	chant	1
876 877	"	1		,,		P Krishramurti Achari	do	Ples	ader	do
						V Krishna Row	do	Sov	*CHI	do
878 879	1		. 1			Madam Seshama Chetty	Vysya	Me Pi C	rebant and Pro rictor, Weaving an otton Mill	do d
880	, ,			,,	h	S G Venkatara- man Jyer, a A , B L	Brahmn		eader	do
88	٠,		. 1	,	,,	G Latchman Row	do	1 8	eader, Landholde: nd Municipal Cou illor	r, do
88	2,	,	,,	,,	,	T V. Chellapera-	Velala	Me	ercbant	do
88	1		,	**	į,	V Rancasawmi	do	Se	cretary, Bellar Civil Society	-
8	94	,	,,	,,		, T M Arunaga Pillas	do .	1	erchant	do do
8	85		,,		F	ion Mr Sabhapati Mudhar	do do	1	ferchant and Mer her, Madras Legra tive Council	
	į	1		٠,),	Mr S Marisidappe	h Langayet	e N	ferchant	do
	886 887	"	"	,		,, Glahanda Kista pah		1.	lerchant, Honore Magistrate and Mi cipal Councillor	do ani
		1			- 1		Brahmi	, I	Pleader	do
	888	"	"	Nare Devail		"K Venkata Ro	do	1	, do	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1894
	-			Devan			1 .		do	do
	890					" S Krishtacharlı			do	do
	891	,,	"	}	"	" W Sitarama Ro	" -	1	do	do
	892	,	"		11	, K Viswanadhal			Inamdar	do
	893	17	. "	Но	spet	" B Sitarama Ro		- 1	Mauager, Hump	de
	894	*1	,		,,	,, B Subbha Sha	,		Temple Merchant and I	and By a Public Meetin
	S95	"	"	Ad	lonı	" C Hanumar	- Comp		holder	November 1894

897 ". 898 ". 899 ". 900 ". 901 ". 902 ". 903 ". 905 ". 906 ".	Bellary North Arcot	Electoral Division. Adom Vellore	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholatic Degrees, etc. Mr T Ranga Row " P Sabhapathi Mind har Gindanoor Bhima Row " Natathy Venkola Row " V G Seshaebariar " N Krishnama Charle " P Thangavelu Mudhar " M Gosundasawiny Nacid	Race, Religious dego- mination, and cate if any Brahmin Velala Brahmin do do Vyaya	Occupation and	held on the 30th Norember 1891 do do do By a Pablic Meeting held on the 3rd December 1875
897 898 899 900 901 902 903 905 906	North Arcot	Vellore	" P Sabhapathi Midhar Gindanoor Bhima Row " Nakathy Venkola Row " V G Seabachariar " N Krishnama Charle " P Thangavela Mudhar " M Gorindasawny	Velala Brahmin do do do	pal Conneillor Agent, Mesars Sabha patha Madhar & Co Pleader and Municipal Conneillor Merchant and Municipal Councillor Pleader and secretary, Vellore Hate Payers Association Landholder	held on the 30th Norember 1891 do do do By a Pablic Meeting held on the 3rd December 1875
898 " 890 " 900 " 901 " 902 " 903 " 904 " 905 " 906 " 907 "	" North Arcot	Vellore	har Gindapoor Bluma Row , Nalathy Venkola Row , V G Scahaebarrar , N Krishnama Charle , P Thangavelu Madhar	Brabmin do do do	path Mudlar & Co Pleader and Municipal Councillor Merchant and Municipal Councillor Pleader and Secretary, Vellors Rate Payers Association Landholder	do do By a Pablic Meeting beld on the 3rd December 1875 do
890 " 900 " 901 " 902 " 903 " 904 " 905 " 906 " 907 " 908 "	North Arcot	Vellore	Row , Nalathy Venkola Row , V G Seshaebariar , N Krishnama Charlo , P Thangavela Mudhar	do do	Councillor Merchant and Municipal Councillor Pleader and Secretary, Vellore Bate Payers Association Landholder	do By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1875 do
900 901 902 903 905 906 907 909	North Arcot	Vellore	Row , V G Seshacharar , N Krishnama Charle , P Thangarela Mudhar	do	pal Councillor Pleader and Secretary, Vellors Rate Payers Association Landholder	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1805
901 " 902 " 903 " 904 " 905 " 906 " 907 "	Arcot	y1 33	"N Krishnama Charlu "P Thangavelu Mudhar	do	Vellore Rate Payers Association Landholder	held on the 3rd December 1805
902 ", 903 ", 904 ", 905 ", 906 ", 907 ", 908 ",	, ,	n	Charlu " P Thangarelu Mudhar " M Govindasawiny			
903 ", 904 ", 905 ", 906 ", 907 ", 908 ",	,,		Mudhar , M Govindasawiny	Vysya	Proprietor, V N Press and Vice President,	do
905 ", 906 ", 907 ", 909 ",			" M Govindasawiny		R P Association	j
905 " 906 " 907 "	я	Palma ner	araiwa.	Balija	Merchant	do
906 "	1	r dimmeet	, R Swammadha Row	Brahma	Mirasilar	By a Public Meeting held on the 10th December 1891
907 "	,,	, ,	"TR Swammadh	do	Pleader	do
909 ,,	,,		" A Swami Iger	do	Picader and President, Batepayers Associ ation	do
	,,	-	"V Umamabeswara Iyer	đo	Pleader	do
		-	"C Varadacharin	do	do	ďο
201 "	,		B RangayyaChetty	Vysya	Merchant	do
910 "			, M Krishnaswamy Iyer	Brahmin	Pleader	do
911 -			"A Lenkayya Sarma	do	Landbolder	do
912 "	1 .		" V Smuraes Varadi	do	Pleader and Land holler	do
013	-		\ Krishraswamj	дo	do	do
914 ,		Chistoor	, B. C. Ragiavier	do	Parader	By a Public Meet no beld on the 2rd December 1894
915		}	" L A Gorinda Ba	20	do	d>
ગા "		1 .	, Saras mbaiyar	do	Hemler, District ar ' Tally Founds	do

Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	I lectoral Division	Names in full of Dele gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Reh gious deno- mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
917	Madras	North Arcot	Chittoor	Mr V D Arnuschells - Nuillar, 84	Velala	Honorary Magistrat and Member, Distric- and Taluq Boards	e By a Pablic Meeting theld on the 2nd December 1891
าเธ		.,	,	" G Srimvasa Chair ar, o i	Beahmin	Plèader	do
919	,,	"	'n	, D V Rajagopala Chariar	do	Pleader and Land holder	do
920	"		,,	" Sesbama Nayana Varu	Handn	Zemindar of Burgam	do
921			"	"T T Virareghave	Brahmin	Pleader	ilo
922	,	,,		v V V Gopula Cha	ilo	da	do
923	"	,	,	, C V Snorman	do	Pleader and Honorary Magnetrate	go
921	"		11	, C Subramanis'	llinda kammavar	Pleader and Land holder	do
925			Kavecepak	, C Sadasıva Mod lıar	Velala	Contractor	By a Pobbo Meeting held on the 16th December 1804
926	,,			" Bapathy Jaganna tha Raja	Vysys	Merchant and Landed Proprietor	do
927	,,			K Amio Chettiar	do .	Merchant and Miran	do
928	•	,		, K Veerasawmy Mudhar	Yelala	Merchant and Landed Proprietor	do .
929	, ,			, K Thendavareya	Hioda Kariyan	Mirasidar and Landed Proprietor	do
930	,,	,,	,	, K Devu Mudhar	Velala	Merchant and Lauded Proprietor	do
931	"	"	,	" V Latchmans Mud har	do	do	do
932	,,		Rumpetta	, V S Sadasıva Mudhar	do	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 9th Decer ber 1894
933	,	,		W Viparagbava Mudhar	do	Pleader Landholder and Municipal Coun cillor	do
934	٠, ,	,		A S ibramama Iyei	Brahmm	Pleader and Member District Board	do
93,	, ,	,	Sholinghui	, Venestarama Iyer	do	Plouder	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th November 1874
931	6 ,,	,,	,,	b A Shadagopa Charry	do	^do	do
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Namber	Presidency on Government	Circle	Electoral Divison	Names in full of Dele gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Reli gious deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and	How and when elected
937	Madras	North Arcot	Sholinghu	Mr 1. Varadah Garu	Brahmın	Pleader and Secretary, Pleaders' Association	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th November 1894
938	,,		,	, L Srinivasa Ra ghavayah	do	Secretary, Branch Theosophical Society	đo
939	,,	,	, ,	,, T Swammadhai yer	ob	Pleader	do
740			Tirupati	, Sheikh Hussain Sahibgm	Masalman	Merchant and Munici- pal Commissioner	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1894
941		,	,,	" V Anantachariar	Brahmin	Vakil and Municipal Conneillor	đo
942				" M Spodaracbariai	do	Vakıl	do
943	,	,,	.,	" V Sundramier	đo	Schoolmaster .	↑ do
944	,,	,,	"	" C Krishnamacha riai	do	Vakil and Municipal Councillor	đo
945	,	"	,	" C Krisbnaswamy Iyer	30	ào	do
946	,,	, ,		" T Krishnayya	do	do -	đo
947	,	Travan core	Kadayal wedu	"K Narayana Nam biar	do	Editor, Iana Pasyim	By a Public Meeting held on the 29th November 1894
948	Govt of India	Hydera bad	Secundra bad	, G Krisbnama Cha	do	Vakil, High Court and Landholder	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1894
949	,			" G Srsrswla Naida	Hında	Contractor and Land holder	фo
250	,,		1	" B Krishnaiyangar	Brahmin	Solicitor	do
951		,		, P Ramachandra Pilias	Vysyn	Pleader, High Court	do
902	,	,	,,	, J Seymour Keny, M P	Евгорени	House of Commons	do
903	,		,,	" Dindigul Kissanna	Vysya	Sowcar	đo
954	i L		,	" Mar Ah	Masalman	Solicitor, Madras High Court	do
9.5	Bombay	Bombay	Bombay	, Atmaram A Phausalkar	Hundu	Teacher, Tardeo	By a Meeting of the Bombay Presi- dency Association held on the 10th December 1894
956		1	n	,, JagmohandassVan dravandass	do	Justice of the Peace and Member, Muni cipal Corporation	đo
957	,,	1 ,,	,,	" Pestonji Dorabji Panday	Parsı		do

Number	Presidency or Governent	Congress Circle	Llectoral Division	Names in full of Dele- gates with Honorney Titles, Scholastic Degrees etc	Race, Religions deno mination and caste, if any	Occupation and	How and nhea elected
959	Bombay	Bomhay	Bombay	Mr Janordhan Saka ram Gadgal, na.	l Bendu		By a Meeting of the Bombay Presi dency Association held on the 10th December 1895
959	,,	,,	"	, Dharamsey Sander	do	Mill owner and Jus-	do
960	,,	-	,,	"PJ Swami	đo	Medical Practitioner, Bazaar Road, Kama- tipura, Byculla	do
961		, ,		" Ardesbir Barjorji	Pain	Tutor to II It the Prince of Jalwar	do
962	н	,	,,	"M V Bhat	Brahmm	Pleader, High Court	do
963	*	"	,,	, Prabbakar Luzu mon Nagpurkar	Hindu	Pleader, Shorapur	do
964	,,	,,	,	"G S Mnkhadam	Beahmn	Plender	do
965	,,	-	,	" Lafji Ramji	Hndu Lohana	Tobacco Merchant	do
966	,,	,,	,	" Hart Bhickon	do	da	do
967	,	,,	,,	, Govind Desarath	do	do .	do
968	,.	}		" Gokaldas Gordhan das	do ,	ં પૌ૦	do
961	"	"		, DE Wacha	Parsı .	Mill Agent and Joint Secretary, Presidency Association	đo
970	•	,	,	" Vandrataudas Pu rushotiaudas	Ifmdu Bhansalı	Merchant, Justice of the Peace and Mem- ber, Municipal Cor- poration, Wardour Road, Breach Candy	do
971	"	** 	"	"Praniai Kaptandas Soshipara, LCE, nsa	Umdu	Architect and Consult- ing Surveyor	do
972	,,		,,	" Mulraj Khatan	đo	Merchant	do
973	"			Damodar Luksmı- dan	đơ	Mill owner	do
974	,		,	" Vardraj Govend Naidu	Hunda Telogu	Merchant	do
975			,	", Wanager Hajooger	Hındu Mahratia	Landlord	đo
976	"		,	,, Ranchordas Tribhu vandas	Hmds	Merchant Gowala Tank Road	ılo
977		,	17	, John dsCunha	Portnguese Christian	Medical Practitioner	dó
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Number,	Presidency or Government	Congress Circle,	Electoral Division	Names in full of Del gates, with Honorar Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race Regions de mination and cas	on i Occupation and te, i Address	How and when elected
	Bombay	Bombay	Bombay	The Hon V R Natr	Realiza	valil, High Country and Member, Bomb. Legislative Counc	By a Meeting of the ay Bombay Presi dency, Association held on the 10th December 1894
979	*1			Dr M G Deshmukh	do	Private Practitione Member, Municip Corporation and ke low of the University, Girgium	1
990	n	91	17	The Hon C H Setal	elo	Valil, High Court an Member, Legislativ Conneil, Bombay, Girgann	d tlo
981	n	"	,,	Mr AM Dinbandhu	Dinda	Verebant	ilo
982	"	"	11	" Jiwandas Dayaldas	do	Broker	lb.
993	,	11	٠, إ	,. Megbp Vallabhadas	do	Merchant	do
954	"	"	,	" Abaji Viswanath Kolntkar	đo	do	do
995	n	"	, 1	" W A Chambers	European	Ingineer	do
986	"		"	" Shripata A Chatra	Brahmin	Plender District Court, Belgaum	do
987	"	"	•	"Jivanino II Beti giri, R.A., H.L.	do-	Plrader Dharwar	d 1
999	"	"	-	"K G Agrekar na,	do	Pleader Belganu	do
989	'	, l		, V K, Warnthi	ilo	do	ıln
990	"		"	, K.R Jahlol Ra,	do	do ,	do
100	. (,-	, B V Harohkar	do	do	do
992	"	-	. 1	T V Athmiar	ılo	General Agent, Bel	do
იიკ	•	.	•	Gangadhar T Go- khale	do	Civil Fugineer	do
กกร			,	N B Moolay	đa	Pensioned Deputy Collector, Honorary Magistrate and Member, District and Local Boards	do
700			.	. S. W Kane	do (Medical Practitioner	ď
9+6	-	"	.	, Haji Monlvi Shekh 3 Hussain Shekh Chand	osmissa)	Preacher Islam	d •
917	.	-	,, 1	Dr. K H Bahadarjiş	Раги.	Physician, Malabar Hill	d •

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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electo Divisi	ral g	ates, with Honorary	Race, Reli- nous deno munition, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
-1	Bombay	Bomba	Cola	ıba M	r Vaman Bapup Dev	Parsı	Landed Proprietor and Salt Merchant	By a Public Meeting held on the 12th December 1894
999	,,	Deccar	. Nas	ak	"V B Ranade "	Brahmin	Editor, Dnyanchakshus	By a Meeting of the Nasik Sarvajanik Sabha on the 2nd December 1894
1000		,,,		.	"R B Tholte	do	District Pleader, Yeola	do ,
1001		,		,	"VB Aknt	do	District Pleader, Nasik	
1002		,,		,	"R Y Rage	Hındu Prabhu	do	do
1000	3 ,	ļ "		,,	, A R Kawle	Brahmin	Vakil, Member, Sin- nar Local and Dis- trict Boards	do
100	14 .,	,	1.	"	" G R Kebirsagar	do	Pleader and Member, District and Local Boards	đo
100		1		n	"HK Ketkar	. do	đo	do
100			.	"	" G Narasımha Kei kaı		District Pleader, Member, District Board and Secretary Sarvajanik Sabha	1
10	, ,	1		19	"KS Deshpand	e do	Member, Municipa lity, Taluq and Lo cal Boards	do .
10	008 .			"	, Krishnarso Jaya am Gupti	r do	District Pleader	do
16	009	, 1		,	" Ramachandra M hadeya Paranja	a do	do	do
1	010	, De	ecan	**	, Krishnajee Dho do Pange		Inami Jaghirdar, Ko	do do
3	1011		-	Waz	"Sadashiv Ram chandra Kha		Pleader, Righ Cou	beld on the 9t December 1894
	1012			Poons	,	do ass	Merchant	By a Public Meetin beld on the 25t November 1894
	1013		,,	,,	" Hari Narasu A	pte do	Manager, Anaude ram Budhwarp Editor, Konool	as do
			1		"S B Joglekar	do	Pleader, Thana	do
	1014	"	"	"	, S K Bhags	vat do	do	, , do
	1016	,,	,	,,	" V K Satvaka	ďo	Manager, Annapati graba Mercha Budhavarpet	na. do

					,		
Number	Presidency or *	Congress Grele	Electora Division	Names in full of Del gates, with Honorai Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	w grona d	Occupation as	How and when elected
	Bombay	Deccan	Poona,	Mr R R Agasthi	Brahm	Municipal Com sioner and Hono Magistrate	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November 1894
1018	"	"	"	" Shreemant Shan karao Naraya: Satya Sahib Wat		Arderand Jaghii Municipal Com	rdar, do
1019	"	,,	"	" R S Mahadev Ba lal Namjoslu	do	Journalist Secret Industrial Assotion and Munic	ima.
1020	"	"	, "	,, Vmayek Narayan Apte	do do	Secretary, Merche Bank	ants do
1021	"	"	,	n Balwant Babay Godbole	ı do	Medical Practition	oer do
1022	"	"	19	"R S Kashmath Purusham Gadgil		Barriater at-Law	do
1023	,,	,,	"	,, Govind Ballal Deva	do	Author, Dramatic Works, Haripur	đo
1024	"	,	,,	, Kashinath G Nathu	do	Pleader, Sadashiva	pet do
1025		,,	,,	"Krishnaji Keshav Gokhale	i do	Pleader .	do
1026	,,	"	,	, Vishvanath Gan gadhar Shapkar	do	Proprietor, Dayan chakshus	do do
1027	,,		n	"Raghunath Dap Nagarkar	do	Pleader and Municip Commissioner	do 9
1028	"	"	"	" Vishnu Hari Ka randikar	do	Assistant Secretary Sarvajanik Sabha	do
1029	,,			"Shivram Hari Sathe	do	Editor, Nyayashraya	do
1030	,,	,	, 1	Rao Saheb Vishna Moresh Bhide	đo	Pensionei, 1st Clas Sub-Judge	
1031	"	,	, 1	Mr GopalakrishnaGo khale Ba	do	Professor, Fergusson College	do
.1032	,,		" ,	, Sıtaram Ganesh Devdhar	đo	Feacher New English School, Editor, Sud harak	đo
1033	,,	"	n j1	, Narharao Vmayek	do	Merchant	do
1034	"	,,	Satara R	ao Saheb B S Sahas rabadhi	đo	Pleader	By a Public Mesting held on the 2nd December 1894
1035	٠.	"	,, M	Ir Shreemant L M Kanahare	do	Landholder	do
1036	,,		, ,,	G B Phansalkar	do 1	Pleader, High Court	do
1037	,,	,,	, ,	D B Parasnis	do 1	Editor, Maharashtra Kokil	do

Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele gites with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degree, etc	Race, Reli g ons deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
1038	Bombay	Decean	Satara	Mr R P Karandılar	Brahmin	Pleader, High Court	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894
1039	n	,	,	Nagabudhi Boharu	Masalmaa	1 sades	de
1040	17	,,	Ahmed nagar	,, Waman Visvanath Maliajan	Brahmin	Medical Practitioner	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1894
1011	11	33	Bhimthadi	Rao Sahib B A Deshpande	đο	Pleader, DistrictCoupt, Insudar Chairman Municipality, Mem- ber, Local Board	
1042	27	,	Bagalkot Bijapur	M: Siddo Timaji Ba dami	do	Pleader and Land holder	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894
1043	"	Bhusa- wal	Jalgaon Khaudesh	, Abaji Ragho Mhalas	do	Subordinate Govern ment Plender and Municipal Chairman, Jalgaon	
1044	"	,,	Dhulis	, Balakrishna Rama chandra Kotwal	do	Pleader	By a Public Meeting hald on the 9th December 1894
1045	'n	11	Bhusaval	Rao Saheh Chintaman Bapan Morgan- Lar	do ¹	Pleader and Vice Pro sident Municipality	đo
1046	,,	,		Mr Sakharam Ganesh Patankar	do	Pleader	do
*1047	,		,	, Bapoopt Gopel Ta	do	Pleader Blindgaon	••
1049	,,	Sholapar	Sholapar	, P. L Nagpurkar	do	Pleader	
1049	-	37		, Dinker Balal Cha krader	do	Pleader and Landlord	
1050	-	,,		" Dhondo Lesbay Kane, n A	do	Professor, Mathema tics, Fergusson College	
1051	-	,	,,	"Shudhar Narayan Suthaye, Ba, Li B	do	Pleade:	
1059	,,	-	,,	" Narayan Sakhurum Panche, 8 s	сb	Professon, Sanscrit, Fergusson College	
1053		, ,	1 ,	, Vithal Luxmon	do	Pleader, Galburga	
105		1 "	,,	, Gopal Vithal	do	do	
105		'		" S P Kirlostar	do	Pleader, High Court	***
105	1 "] "	, ,,	" Govind Tatyan	do	Merchant and Land- holder	•
105	7 ,	Dharwa	Dharwar	, D Y Athawale	do	Landlord	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894

Number	Presidency or Government	Congress Curlo	Electoral Division	Names in full of Delegates with Honorary Triles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno mination, and caste, if any		How and when elected.
1058	Bombay	Sholapar	Sholspar	Mr D H Palande	Brahmu	Landlord	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894
1059	"	,,		"G H Vibhuti	Laugayat	Pleader, District Conr	t do
1060	,,			, B S Joshi	Brabmin	Artisan	đo
1001	"	,,	,	, Datta Ramschan dra Patwaukar	do	l'leader, Haveri Dis trict	do
1062	,,,	, "	. "	" Ramachandra Ma Bades	đo	Pleader and Zemin der, Vice President Haven Municipality	đơ
1063	,,,	"	Hubli	"R A Snle	dů	Zamındar ,	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894
1064	,,		"	, 1 B Godbole	do	do .	đo
1065	,,	Belgaum	Kagnoli	, Ganesh Daji Sha- hade	do	Pirader, Sub Court Chikodi	By a Public Meeting held on the 1st November 1894
1066	, ,	,	,	" Vinayekrao D Bhila Wadikar	do	Editor, Shikshuk, Chi kodi	do
1067	,,	,,	,	, Krishuaji Khando Knikarni	do	Merchant, Chikodi	đo
1068	,,	,,	,,	, B A Mahajan	đo	Pleader, Sub Judge Court	đo
1002	"	,,	Belganm	, S B Bhate	do	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 28th November 1894
1070) "	,,	ļ	,, D V Belvi sa,	đo	do	đo
107	,,	,,		Govind Sreemvas Velsti	do	Photographer	dor
1079	.,	Gujerat	Kaira Pauch Mahala	, Manulai Pranalai Setalsad	đo	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1894
107	,,	,		, Gokuldas Dwar <u>k</u> adas Talatı, e a LL s	do ✓	. do	do
107	,,	,,	Ahmeda bad	" Dahyabai Izatram	đơ	Pleader, District Conrt	άο
107	5 ,			, Govinda Apaji Putel, s a LL s	⊦ do	đo	do
107	6 ,	Ratna	Ratuaguri	Madhusudana Wa sudev Athalye B A	do	Landlord and Mer chant	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894
107	7 ,	,,	Dapoli	A H Modak	do	Deshmukh Dapolı	do
-			<u> </u>	<u> </u>			Δ.

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Namber	Presidency or	Jovernmen	Congress	Electoral Division	i cate		Race, Reli gione deno mination, and caste, if any	Address]	How and when elected
	Bomb		Surst	Surat	Mr	Bezonji Maneckji BA LL B	Parsı	Legal Profession, R trampura, Surat		ys Public Meeting held on the 12th October 1894
1079		-			,,	Nanalal Khevisi .	Hındn	Insurance Agent	1	do
1080	1	1	Ichalka- ranji	lehalka ranji	,	R B Apte	Brahmin	Pleader and Mun pal Commissione	101- B	ya Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894
1081	1		"	Kolhspur	,,	L S Diga Vedekar	do	Pleader, Kolhapur	г. В	ya Public Meeting held on the 21st December 1894
1082	2 .	, \	,,	,	R	lsı Babadur B S' Kırtane	do	Pensioner		đo
108	Pro	γin	Nagpur	Nagpur	B	Rao Saheb Kasbinat Rao Vaidhya	do ,	Pensioned Super tendent, Controll Office	rın B ler s	By a Public Meeting beld on the 1'th November 1894
108	64 84	,,		,	3.0	ir Bhagirath Prasad	d Hindu Kalar	Professor, Hys College, Munic Commissioner, L lord Bameh	slop npal land	đo
108	83	"	,,	,		, Ambodasa Krasba Deshpande	Brahmın	Private Secretary H H Kakur Sa Piploda, Malgus	dide	đ١
10	B6	,,	1.	,,	3	Rao Sabeh Kesbay rao Bbuwalkar	, do	Pensioned Extra A	assa ngr	do
10	087	11			λ	Mr Balwantrao Go vindrao Mahajar	o do	Malguzar and A cate, Judicial C missioner's Con	Com	do
10	088	19	1.	, ,		, Cotarı Venkat Ramana Nayudr	ta Hindu Khetri			đo
1	089	,,	,,			" Rampiwan Joge N	Na do	Headmaster, As Sabha School	ndhra	do
1	090	,,	,,	, ,,		"Keshay Vinayal Joshi, BA	L Brahm	Headmaster Ned High School	11 City	do
	1091	,,	,,	, ,		" G W Same	dn	Contractor, G Railway and Merchant	1 P Uloth	do
:	1092	17		" "	.	, M Luxmon Sh dher Jug	do do	Tescher, Niell High School		ĺ
	- 200			. "	. !	" v b Wadhomi	kar do	Melguzar and B		do
	1093	17		"		"K N Deshmuk	da da	1		đo
	1094 1095	,,	1	" "		Dr Adhar Sing G	our, Kahattı	Barrister at Lav	ĸ, Ho	do
	1096	,	\	" Balag	hat.	J	ela- Brahn	min Pleader, Balagi	hat	By a Public Meetin held on the 15 November 1894
	- 1		- 1	- 1		ì				

Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele gates, with Honorary Tritles, Scholastie Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno mination, and caste, if any	Occupation and	How and when elected
1097	Central Provin ces	Nagpar	Rajantud gaon	Ur V Sarangapanı Mudhat	Hındu Sudra	General Contractor and Landlord, Manager Bultum Press and Municipal Commis sioner	held on the 25th November 1894
1093	,,	"	Saugor	", Narayana Bala krishna Nakhre	Brahmm	Proprietos, Olcott Press, Saugor	By a Public Meeting held on the 20th December 1894
**************************************	,,	,	Waidha	,, Keshavarao Maha deo Kavale	do	Pleader and Banker, Municipal Commis Signer and Member, District Board	By a Public Meeting held on the 6th December 1894
1100	Govern ment of India	Berms	Akola	" V R Mudholkar	đo	Editor, " Vaidharabha	By a Public Meeting held on the 17th December 1894
1101		,	Ellichpur	"Gauesh Mahesh Sahasrahuddhe	do	Pleader, District Court Secretary, Municipa hty, Ellichpur	By a Public Meeting held ou the 9th Dacember 1894
1102			Amraota	"G N Kane	do ,	Pleader	By a Meeting of the Berara Saryajanik Sabha hald on the 2d December 1894
1103			,,	"Ghulam Ahmed Khan	Masalman	Zemmdarand Member, District Board	đo
1104	,		"	, Rangusth Narsuigh Madholker, sa	Brahmm.	Pleader, High Court, Landholder, Vice Chairman, Munici pality	do
1100	. '	,	•	, Moro Vishvanath Joshi, B. A., LL B	do	Pleader, High Court	do
1106		,	,,	"Babaji Mahadev Dikshit	Hıudu Prabhu	Pleader	do
1107	,	,	,	"Keshav Balwant Desbpando	Brohmin	Banker	đо
1108	,	,	,	Vinayak Sarvadha ram Oke	do	Pleader	do
1109		,	Wun	"L C Bapat	`do '	Pleuder, Yeotmal	By a Public Meeting held on the 31st October 1894
1110	,,)	,,	"S M Deva	do	do	dø
1111	1	,	,,	"R R Bapat	đo	дo	ďο
1119		,	Bassim	" L A Mabajan	đo	Merchant Mongrul Par	ob
	Bombay	Scinde	Karach	" Daulatram Jethu mal	Hındn	Pleader	By a Meeting of the Scinde Sabha held on the 19th Dec- ember 1894
111	,,	,,	Sukkur	Rao Bahadur Peshn mal	đo	do	do
_	'		·				

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Number	Presidency	Соментен	Congress	Electors Division	al gat	mes in full of Deletes, with Honorary Fitles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	mi and	e, Reli le deno nation, l caste, any.	Occupation and Address	How and when elected
1115	_	- 1	Scinde	Shikarpi	nr Se	th Cohindram Kha an Mal	E	Imdu	Merchant, Shikarpur	By a Meeting of the Scinde Sabha held on the 10th De cember 1894
1116					Se	th Balchand Sitara	m	do	do	ďσ
1117	N W	P	Allaba bad	Allahab	ad H	on Raja Rampa Singh	ı K	shatirya	Talnkder and Memher, N W P, Legisletive Conneil	By a Public Meeting held on the 30 November 189
1118	,		"		H	on Babu Charoo Chender Mitter	Б	Layeoth	Merchant, Pleader and Member, N W P Legislative Council	ιlo
111	9 ,	.	,,	,	P	andit Madan Mob Malaviya, BA, LL	an B	calmin .	Vakil, High Court	do
112	0	,	,	Aligh	ar F	Istiz Mahamad A' dur Rahim		asalman	Pleader, Aligarh	By a Public Meeting held on the 20th December 1894
112	a	.	,	Agr	a I	Pandit Tulsi Rai Misr, MA, FT 8	m B	Irahmın	Professor, St John's College, Agre	By a Public Meet ing held on the 9th December 1894
119	22	,,	Benares	Bena	res 1	Ir Raghmath Das	•	do	Pleader	Dya Public Meeting held on the 20th December 1894
11	23	,,	,	Gorak	hpur	" Alfred Nundy		engah Bengah Christian	Barriater at-Lew	đυ
11	24	**	Oudh	Luck	BOW :	Mnnshi Gunga I shad Varma	er	Hundn	Editor, Aarocats	Dy a Public Meeting held on the 17th December 1894
11	25	,	,,		. 1	Pandit Bishen Na yen Dar	ra	Brahmın	Barrister at Law	do
11	26	,,	\ .			, Narayan Mas	la	do	Pleader	do
			l		,	Ratennath	- 1	ob	do	do
	127	"	'.	1		Dr C C Ghose		do		do
	129	"	,		ekan ar	Thakur Rampri Singh	ısad	Kshattraj	a Sub Editor, Hunduste	n do
1	130 P	nnjal	Laho	ore La	abore	Captam A T Ba	non	European	Zemındar, Kulu (lat Bengul Staff Corps	By a Public Meet- ing held at Lahore on the 9th Decem ber 1891
	1131			.		Mr H Morgan Br	OMBE	do	Barrister at Law, London	Do also at Calcutta Gaya, Madras and other places
	1132		1	.	,	Lala Marlidhar		Katrı	Pleader, Chief Cour Ambella	By a Public Meeting held at Lubore or the 9th December 1891
			1	- 1		1		1	'	1

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Number	Presidency or Government	Congress	Electoral Division	Names in full of Dele gates with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious deno mination and caste, if any	Occupation and	How and when elected
1133	Pnnjab	Luhou	Labor.	Mr Jashiram	Katrı	Pleader, Cluef Court, Labore	By a Public Meeting held at Lahore on the 9th December 1894
1134	Bengal	Calcutta	Calcutta	J Ghosal	Birhmin	7emindar Meichant Honorary Presid ency Magistrate & Municipal Commis sioner	By a Meeting of the British Indian As sociation on the 21st December 1994
	,	,		Bahu Bipin Bihari Mitra	Kayastha	Landlord Upper Cir cular Rosd, Sham Bazar	By the Northern Metropolitan Divi sion on the 14th December 1894
							By the Noakhali Bar Association on the 27th December 1894
							By the Northern Metropolitan Divi
1136	, "	{ , 1	**	" Nibaran Chandra Dutt	do	Merchant	do
1187	"	,	,	" Pashupati ` Nath" Basu	do é	Landlord 65 Bagh Bazaar Street	By the Northern Metropolitan Divi eion on the 14th December 1894
1138	,	,	,	Bomoko Nath Mitter	đo	Zamındar	do
1139	,	,		Hon Surendra Nath Banerjea	Brahmın	Member Legislative Council Bengal and Calcutta Vunicipality	By the Indiau Asso mation on the 7th December 1894
1140		,	- 3	Babu Kahebaru Ban nerjee, n a	Bengalı Christian	Pleader	dο
1141				Mr P N Mitter	Hındu	Merchant, and Land lord	ďο
1142	,			Babu Kedaruath Ban- erjee	Brahmin	do	do
1143	,,			, Krishna Komar Mitter	Kayesth	Editor, Sanyibani	do
1144				" Herambo Chander Mastro, u a	đo	Professor City College	do
114	,,	,,		Pandit Kalipresonne Bishazsd	Bengalı Atheist	Editor, Hila bindhi	By the Southern Metropolitan Drvi sion on the 19th December 1894
114	,		Baranagore	, Yahnder Nath Choudry, H & B E	do	Zamındar	By the Indian Asso mation on the 7th December 1894
114	7	,	Mymeu	Baba Amarehand Dutt	Kayesth	Teacher and Editor, Chars Milss	do
	1 .						

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Namber.	Presidency	iovernment.	Congress Carcle.	Electoral Division	gates, with Honorary	lace, Reli nous deno mination, and caste, if any,	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected
-1	Beng		Jalcutta	Mymeo sing	Bahn Sasankar Kumai Ghosh, BA, BL	Kayesth	Head Master, Mukta gacha School	By a Public Meeting held on the 7th December 1894
1149	,		,	Pabna	Kuujial Shaba	Handu	Medical Practitioner	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894
1150		, _	,		, Mohini Mohan Chakravarti, n A ,	Brahmin	Pleader and Monici- pal Commissorer	do
1151		,	,	Hooghly	" Vishon Pada Chat torjee MA, BL	do	Pleader .	do
1152				Backergan	, Harakanta Sen	Vaidhya	Secretary, Bengal Loan Office	By a Public Meeting held on the 11th December 1894
115	В		,,	Marahida bad	" Boyknntha Nath	do	Vakil, High Court and Honorary Magistrate	
115	4		n		" Hemendra Nath Sen BL	đσ	Zemindar and Pleade	
115	5	,	Farid pur	Faridpni	, Ambica Churan Moznmdai	Brahoun	Zemindai Pleader, and Chairman, Mn morpality	do
115	66	,	,,	,	" Prithvi' Chandra	Himlu	Zemiodar Chuinaphr	do
111	57		Dacea	Daces	"Sarat Chandra Chakravarti, » L	Brahmin	Pleader	By a Public Meetin held on the 17th December 1894
11	58	,,	Chitta	Chittagor	, Basanta Moha	n Vaidbys	Landholder	By a Public Meetic held on the 19th December 1894
11	.59	,	Rajsh hye	Bogia	, Jaduhlal Roy	Kayasth	Agent to K R. Estate Honorary Magistra	By a Poblic Meetin held on the 29th December 1894
11	160	,	"	Rajshah	ye , Kalı Prosonn Acharya, B L	Hındu	Pleader	By a Public Meetin held on the 18th December 1894
11	161	,,	Chot		a , Sarat Chandra Se	n Vadhy	Vakil, Manbhuoi	do
	162	,,	Behr)	Madhoh Chunde Chatterjee, E	Brahmi	n Picadez	By a Public Meetio held on the 23r November 1894
1	163	,,	,,	,,	" Rakhaldas Sen	Vaidhy	a do	do

In fact, it is a case of monopoly all round whether in the public service or in mercantile concerns Gentlemen. I must now myste your attention to the Book I hold in my hand. It is called "Forty years Progress in the Madris Presidency," written by Benan Bahador Stinivasa Pacana Ivencar, CIF It is no wonder that the people in England should think that we are rolling in riches God grant wich a state to in once more. But I do not know what to say when we find Bewan Babadur Srinivasa languva Iyengar could bring himself to say in this book that so far as this Presidency is concerned, the transfer by sale or increases That it is not so, needs no further demon of land by ryots is proof positive of prosperits stration Speaking of the cost of food in this country, Dewan Bahador Srinivasi Ragava Lyengar says that two anness per diem to a Bribmin an I one anna to a non Brahmin are quite sufficient How valuable are these figures, Gentlemen, it is for you to decide For any own part I am inclined to think that it is an absurd statement. Much less would have been neces 51 Lin bygone days when Brabmus had nothing to do but practice austerities, and lead nscottle lives In these days of Western civilisation and angleised notions even in the remains est parts of the rural tracts, and with the ever awaiting famine, and the consequent subances market rates, coupled with the pressure of taxation of all sorts how is it possible for Brahmin and non Brahmu alike to live upon such a starvation allowance ! There were days when there were timely rains there were days when people had free access to forests, there were days when there was no legislature in India to make the commonest necessities of life such as salt, bear taxation, and above all there were days when tastes were simple and the necessaries of his executingly cheap, now that those days are gone for ever, is it is a pitful joke to tell us that what was good enough then will be good enough now? It passes in without the Dewan Balander brought humself to perpetrate so egregious a blunder. The igh our henign Government may value his opinion on this poat I am sure you gentlemen will not I will presently show how bis opinion is valueless Behold, gentlemen, the hook I hold in my band It is a Government publication, which ion can have for the modest sim of Re 1 But the materials which go to make up the book, namely, the calico, the morooco the saperior glazed paper, and all that sort of thing separately valued would cost more than a rupee

[Here the President sounded the Gong but encouraged by the vigorous cries of Go on the spriker concluded with an imprassioned appeal to the President to represent to his countrymen 'at home the true facts of the situation in India which, instead of teeming his countrymen 'at home the true facts of the situation in India which, instead of teeming his countrymen 'at home the true facts of the situation in India which, instead of teeming with plenty as at present growing under the intolerable hurden of the oppressive Salt, beret and a host of other taxes, local and impural.]

the tax-payer in India to bear the burden of taxtion imposed on him, and the unsatisfactory financial relations at present existing between India and England is just what we require. I suspect the Government bebours under the delusion that there is practically in oil limit to the tax-paying capacity of the country, and that therefore an inquiry into the sources of income of the country need not be hild. We Indians don't and won't groundle to pay rea-conable taxes. Far from it. But our only greature is that the money we pay leaves thus country in the shape of big salaries to haropeans, war expenses, and exchange compensation allowances, &c. Although the old Hindia Rajahs were despote sovereigns, and oppressive in their demand of taxes, we derived consolation from the fact that the money dut not leave this country in the form of tribute to a foreign and paramount power. Under these circumstances, it is to be earnestly hoped that a thorough and searching inquiry will be held into the financial condition of the country, and that the Hobors of the Committee, the appointment of which we kenxiously look forward to will pive the way for much needed and long delayed reforms.

INDTA

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REPORT

THE TENTH

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On the 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th December.

1894.

